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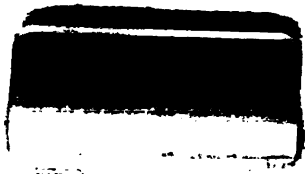

MILNER REFUTED;

OR,

PIOUS FRAUDS EXEMPLIFIED IN DR. MILNER'S "END OF RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSY."

BEING A SERIES OF

Original, Selected, and Contributed Articles

EXPOSING

DR. MILNER'S FALLACIES AND FICTIONS.

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EDITED BY

CHARLES HASTINGS COLLETTE.

Πολλή τίς ἐστιν ἡ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πλάνη, διὰ ποικιλίας, καὶ πολλῶν προφάσεων ἐργασαμένη τὸ φαῦλον τῇ ἀνθρωπείᾳ φύσει, καὶ πλανήσασα ἕκαστον διὰ προφάσεως ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας.—Epiphan. adv. Hæreses, tom. i. p. 507, § 2 (edit. 1682).

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PREFATORY REMARKS.

DR. MILNER'S Work, miscalled the "End of Religious Controversy" (in whatever sense the title may be construed),[a] is well known to all controversialists, though variously estimated by the contending parties. The late Charles Butler, a zealous lay advocate of the Roman Church, declared it to be "the ablest exposition of the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church on the articles contested with her by Protestants; and the ablest statement of the proofs by which they are supported, and of the historical facts with which they are connected, that has appeared in our language."[b] The same work has been put forward by Romanists as "the Herculean shield, which not only confounds, but fritters away the ingenious subtleties of the sophist, the specious distinctions of the critic, the empty theories of the sceptic, and all the impotent attacks of misguided reason against our holy religion."[c] By another editor it is styled "The golden work of the Right Rev. John Milner," &c. &c. It is recommended as a "book particularly adapted for the perusal of inquiring Protestants; the one of all others which the Catholic priest or layman wishes to place in the hands of such persons, as best able to assist their search after truth." Again, the same editor adds: "We may, in fact, safely say, that no other controversial work, of modern times, has had equal success in effecting conversions to our holy religion. Indeed, there are probably few converts who have arrived at it, without being, partly at least, indebted to this excellent work."[d]

While, on the other hand, Dr. Milner's work has been designated by Protestant writers of credit as the most unscrupulous production that has been put forward under the garb

[a] By the *the End of Controversy*, Dr. Milner could not mean *the legitimate object of controversy*, since the work can in no way bear out the idea; but from the positive tone assumed, we must presume that he meant *its complete termination*, thus intimating that his work was so potent as to put a complete end to all controversy between Protestants and Papists. Few readers, we think, will admit that the doctor has attained his desired object.

[b] "Book of the Roman Catholic Church," p. 10, quoted in the Letters of the Bishop of Exeter, 2nd edit. 1826, p. 16.

[c] In the Preface to the Edition of 1820, published by Rd. Coyne, Dublin.

[d] From the Preface of the Derby 8vo Edition, dated 1842.

of religion, and with the affectation of candour. The Rev. Joseph Mendham, in his "Literary Policy of the Church of Rome," writes:—"I cannot forbear adding, with respect to this plausible, because deceitful work, that the reflection which but a cursory examination of it most constantly and forcibly impresses upon the mind, is the facility with which, particularly when aided by opportune suppression, invention, and adjustment, Romanists may prove anything, since the authors and authorities respected by them have maintained everything." The Rev. G. S. Faber, in his "Difficulties of Romanism,"[a] with great reason asserts:—"In point of dexterity and plausibility, the work of Dr. Milner, which he has entitled 'the End of Religious Controversy,' has probably not been surpassed since the days of that prince of sophists, the wily Bossuet. It is, however, strongly marked by what I have noted to be the grand characteristics of productions written in favour of Popery, and in opposition to the Reformation. These are *unscrupulous misrepresentations* on the one hand, and bold allegation on the other." And Mr. M'Gavin, in his refutation of parts of the work in question, declares that Dr. Milner "has displayed an impudent disregard of historical truth;" that "his 'End of Religious Controversy' bears one of the most prominent marks of the beast in its very front; there is downright lying and imposition."

From these brief extracts, our readers will at once appreciate the estimation in which this work is held.

To the Roman Catholic controversialist, Dr. Milner's book has very extensively supplied weapons of attack, though very few have cared, either to test the value of the authority on which their favourite author relies, or to go further for materials; while, on the other hand, there is scarcely a writer on the Protestant side of the question, who has not, in one shape or another, been able to detect gross and palpable misrepresentations in Dr. Milner's assertions. We have, therefore, scattered about in different quarters, in chapters and notes, materials, ample (though not easily obtainable by the generality of readers) for exposing these various "pious frauds."

It is our purpose in the present work, without following any particular order, to bring before our readers illustrations of "PIOUS FRAUDS" of the REV. DR. MILNER, as exemplified in the work in question, availing ourselves, from time to time, of the labours of others, as well original as published; and, during this examination, we may occasionally refer to Dr. Milner's other work—"Letters to a Prebendary."

[a] In the preface, 3rd edit. p. xxxiv.

We shall confine ourselves as closely as possible to the exposure of Dr. Milner's misrepresentations, rather than enter on a general discussion or examination of the doctrines of the Roman Church. We are fully aware of the difficulty and extent of the task we have undertaken, arising from the wide range of subjects treated of by Dr. Milner, condensed into a small compass, without any attempt at accuracy, either in citation of historical facts, or quotations from other writers. Notwithstanding these difficulties, we feel confident that, though it may be impossible in a limited compass to expose *all* the misrepresentations of Dr. Milner, we shall be able to lay before our readers sufficient to destroy his credit, whether as a divine or a controversialist.

We may be reminded, by some of our readers, of Dr. Grier's, Dr. Jarvis', Bishop Hopkins', and Mr. McGavin's very able works on the same subject; but it has been universally admitted, that they do not present a full examination of the work; and, besides, having confined themselves (with the exception of Mr. McGavin) to what more particularly engaged them, as members of the Church of England, they are rather incomplete. For though ourselves sincere members of our time-honoured scriptural Church, we shall, in the course of our examination, refute the calumnies which Dr. Milner has heaped on the various other denominations of Protestants with an unsparing and unscrupulous hand, and to this part of our plan we particularly invite the attention of our dissenting brethren.

The greatest care has been taken to arrive at accuracy in the citations from authors.

C. H. C.

10*th September*, 1856.

NOTE.—*Except when another edition is expressly named, the edition of Milner's "End of Religious Controversy," from which we have quoted throughout the following pages,* is the 12mo. stereotype edition printed at Derby, *"for the* [*Roman*] *Catholic Book Society," without date. The editor's Preface bears date* 1842.

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MILNER REFUTED.

No. I.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

"THE *faith* once delivered to the saints" is that which all denominations of Christians profess to maintain and teach. What that faith is, is the precise point in dispute between the Churches of Rome and England. We are not agreed on the subject: Protestants maintain that many of the doctrines taught by the Romish Church as points of faith were not thus delivered; while Romanists, on the other hand, maintain that her doctrines as now professed have been delivered to them by the Apostles, and are to this day professed and taught in their original purity, and which, says Dr. Milner, "the [Romish] Church has ever guarded as *the apple of her eye*."[a]

In favour of the mass of doctrines, written and traditional, Scriptural and extra-scriptural, which the members of his Church are required to believe as equally and alike divine revelations, Dr. Milner propounds the following statements:—

"Most likely the [Roman] Catholic peasant learns the doctrine of the Church from his parish priest; but then he knows that the doctrine of this priest must be conformable to that of his bishop, and that otherwise he will soon be called to account for it. He knows also that the doctrine of the bishop himself must be conformable to that of the other bishops and the Pope; and that it is a fundamental maxim with them all never to admit of any tenet but such as is believed by all the bishops, and was believed by their predecessors *up to the apostles themselves*.[b]

"It is proper to observe, that this Holy Church, in declaring her doctrine, does not profess to argue upon it in a controversial way, either from Scripture or tradition: much less does she pretend to make new articles of faith, or to expound the original articles in a different sense from that in which she

[a] Letter xi. p. 150.

[b] Letter xii. p. 166.

has always held them; though it is true that she sometimes adopts new terms, such as *consubstantial* and *transubstantiation*, as more energetical and expressive of her belief, in opposition to the rising heresies of the times. In short, her constant language is: *nil innovetur; nil nisi quod traditum est.* Such and such is the sense of Scripture: such and such is the doctrine of her predecessors, the pastors of the Church, *since the time of the apostles.*" [a]

The boldness of these *allegations* is equalled only by their explicitness: but their very explicitness brings the question to an abundantly easy solution.

Dr. Milner, we see, asserts: that *every* doctrine taught by the present Church of Rome has *invariably* been taught by the Catholic Church in every age *from the very time of the apostles*, who themselves originally delivered the entire system as it stands fully and authoritatively explained by the Council of Trent.

Now such language indisputably asserts *a naked historical fact*. Hence, like every other asserted historical fact, it can only be received upon *sufficient evidence*.

This, then, is the precise point upon which the Romish divines and ourselves are at issue.

They assert *an historical fact*: we deny, that the *asserted* fact can be established by *testimony*.

Nor is this all. We not only deny that the asserted fact can be established by testimony; but we furthermore maintain, that the *testimony* of *history* directly contradicts the assertion of the pretended fact.

Both these positions, we undertake to establish in the course of the following treatise, as the subjects present themselves for our examination.

If, then, the two positions can be established *negatively* and *positively*, a favourite quibble of Dr. Milner, even if it were incapable of an independent confutation, will perish by a death of mere inanition.

He contends: that if the Primitive Church, either in the way of difference or in the way of defect, taught any other scheme of Christianity than the precise scheme of the present Roman Church, the introduction of what was new must have been immediately perceived, and would have been immediately protested against.

"In a word," says Dr. Milner, citing the notable argument of an apostate divine, who, by some curious intellectual process, was led to desert the Church of England for the

[a] Letter lvi. p. 375, 8th edit. London.

Church of Rome, "there is but one way of accounting for alleged alterations in the doctrine of the Church; that mentioned by the learned Dr. Bailey: which is to suppose, that, on some one night, all the Christians of the world went to sleep sound Protestants, and awoke next morning rank Papists."[a]

Whatever seeming plausibility there may be in this argument, it assuredly cannot stand against direct historical evidence in opposition to Romish peculiarities. But, in truth, it is under every aspect, such a mere sophism, that an Anglo-Catholic can scarcely comprehend how a man of Dr. Milner's undoubted acuteness could ever in sober seriousness have adduced it.[b]

The very sophism itself is disingenuously built upon a pretended allegation, which no sane person ever made or ever thought of making: the allegation to wit, that "The departure from primitive purity to modern Romanism was at once *instantaneous* and *universal*; insomuch that the former was the standard faith of the Church on a Monday, and that the latter was found to be the standard faith of the Church by every mother's son when he awoke on the Tuesday morning."

Now, where is the person who ever asserted an *instantaneous* and *universal* change of this description? Where is the person whose language, by any fair construction, could ever have conjured up the phantom of such a ridiculous caricature?

Dr. Milner and his cherished apostate must alike have known, that no such extraordinary person ever existed. Consequently, they must alike, to serve their own ends, have been deliberately guilty of *misrepresentation prepense*.

The assertion—an assertion fully borne out by the stubbornness of history—is: not that "The departure from primitive truth was characterized at once by *suddenness* and *universality*," as these two unscrupulous individuals would misrepresent the matter; but that "It was *gradual* in its progress and *successive* as respects the introduction of this or that unscriptural superstition."

Dr. Bailey, therefore, and, after him, Dr. Milner, might just as reasonably have proved, on their wonderful principle of argumentation, that "A human being must *always* have existed in a state of adolescence; because, otherwise, there is but one way of accounting for his alleged alteration in stature: which is to suppose, that every full-grown son of

[a] Letter xi. p. 153.
[b] *Has* Dr. Milner adduced it in sober seriousness?

Adam went to sleep, on some one eventful night, a puling infant; and awoke, next morning, as proper a man as ever trod on neat's leather."

The *bold allegation*, however, runs: that "No opposition to pretended unscriptural innovation stands upon record." Whence it is argued: that "No such thing as any unscriptural innovation could ever have occurred."

Certainly, great wits *ought* to have, what they are proverbially said *not* to have, long memories.

Dr. Milner himself mentions the opposition which was made to prayers to the saints and veneration for their relics and constrained celibacy, by the excellent Vigilantius, at the latter end of the fourth century: but he, conveniently, in the true popish fashion, that is to say, through the medium of pronouncing him a *heretic*, would fain set aside his well-timed protestation; although, be it observed, this was re-echoed by the still uncorrupted bishops and members of the mountaineer churches, on that very account reviled by the furious Jerome. No doubt, if all who opposed *unscriptural innovations upon primitive Scriptural doctrine*, are to be promptly set down as *heretics*, Dr. Milner, on popish principles, will have made out a tolerable case for his bold assertion: for, of course, the innovators *themselves* would not protest against *their own* innovations. But Vigilantius does not stand alone. Various other instances of immediate opposition to *unscriptural novelties*, now unblushingly asserted by Rome to be *sound primeval apostolic doctrines*, will be noticed in the course of the present treatise. In short, nothing can be more unfounded than Dr. Milner's allegation: that "We have no historical intimation as to when any change of doctrine or doctrinal practice occurred;" and that "We have no recorded instance of any protestation against such change."[a]

These several matters we notice, in this introductory chapter, both as immediately bearing upon the plan, to a great extent, of the present work, and likewise as exhibiting the controversial management of a very ingenious but not very scrupulous Romish divine.

The remarkable facility with which Dr. Milner arrives at his conclusions, reminds us forcibly of the terse but true saying of the great Curran: that "*Error is in its nature flippant and compendious; it hops with airy and fastidious levity over proofs and arguments, and perches upon assertion, which it calls conclusion.*"

[a] The above is adapted from the Preface of Faber's "Difficulties of Romanism," pp. xxxix. xlii., 3rd edit., London, 1853.

No. II.

THE RULE OF FAITH.

The 14th Psalm.—The Alleged Corruption in the Authorized Version.

In order to throw difficulties in the way of a Protestant who receives the Bible, and the Bible alone, as his rule of faith, and to unsettle this faith, the first step generally taken is to destroy confidence in the sacred book itself. Accordingly Dr. Milner commences Letter ix. by asking his imaginary correspondent, the too confiding Mr. Brown, "By what means have you learnt what is the Canon of Scripture?"—"Which are the books that have been written by Divine inspiration; or indeed, how have you ascertained that *any* books at all have been so written?" He then tries to make his dupe doubt altogether of the inspiration of the Bible. "It does not," he says, "of itself prove that they [the writers of the Bible] *always* wrote, or indeed that they ever wrote, under the influence of *inspiration*. [The italics are Dr. Milner's own.] They were by nature fallible men. How have you learnt that they were infallible writers?" Then the "genuineness" and completeness of the Scriptures are brought into question; and having thus led, as he supposes, his credulous reader into a fit state of bewilderment, he thinks it a proper opportunity to aim his death-blow at the Authorized version, and hopes to demolish it at once, by showing that when "the English Protestant gets possession of an English Bible," he not only has all these various difficulties to contend with, but that, after all, he has only a spurious Bible to rely on as his rule of faith! The assertion is conveyed in a most artful manner, without compromising himself to any particular or precise charge, but leaving his readers to infer that we are most indubitably under the curse conveyed in Revelation xxii. 18, 19, by either adding to or subtracting from "the words of the prophecy of this book."

The allegation rests on the fact that whereas, in the edition of the Psalms, as published with our liturgical service, verses in the 14th Psalm appear which do not appear in the corresponding Psalm in the Authorized version, and that therefore a suppression or addition is perpetrated. He thus hopes to throw the Established Church of England on the horns of a dilemma.

"Look then," writes Dr. Milner (Letter ix.), "at Psalm xiv. as it occurs in the Book of Common Prayer, to which your clergy swear their 'consent and assent;' then look at the same Psalm in your Bible: you will find four whole verses in the former, which are left out in the latter! What will you here say, dear sir? You must say that your Church has added to, or else that she has *taken away* from, the words of this prophecy."

And in a note is added:—

"These verses in question being quoted in St. Paul (Rom. iii. 13, &c.), there is no doubt but the common Bible is *defective* in this passage."

Here, then, in a note which probably is not Dr. Milner's, we gather that our Authorized version errs in consequence of a *suppression* of part of God's word; and we are led to believe this to be the real charge that is urged, inasmuch as the English Douay versions *include* all the verses alleged to be suppressed.

To this charge, the offspring of folly, or malice, or both united, and which betrays an ignorance of the very rudiments of sacred criticism, it is easy to reply that the verses are in Scripture, but do not properly belong to the 14th Psalm. From the margin of an old Greek manuscript, as presently stated, they were introduced into the text. The old Latin version was made from the Greek, which likewise inserted, the three verses as part of the text. In the first English Bible authorized to be read in churches, published by Archbishop Cranmer in 1539-40, the three verses are printed in smaller letters than the rest, to denote that they are not in the Hebrew. From this Bible the Psalter was inserted, in 1549, in the first Prayer-book of King Edward VI., and has ever since been continued; and it has been deemed convenient to retain the old translation of the Psalms, with which our congregations have been so long familiar.* The verses are not found in the Hebrew original, and are therefore omitted in every version made directly from it. Among these is our authorized translation.

The question has to be considered in a twofold aspect:—

I. *Have we suppressed any portion of the Scriptures by the alleged omission of the verses in question in the 14th Psalm?*

II. *Have we any precedent admissible by Romanists them-*

* For the same reason the Latin churches did not adopt Jerome's improved version of the Psalter from the Hebrew, but constantly retained in all offices the old translation from the Septuagint, not because the latter was more correct, but because the people were accustomed to it.

selves, which justifies us in maintaining that the authorized version is correct?

I. In the first place, we deny that the translators of our Authorized version have suppressed any portion of the WORD OF GOD.

The question, then, usually put by Romanists is, If St. Paul's words, which he uses in the 3rd chapter to the Romans, and which he prefaces by the significant words, "It is written," are not found (as in the Roman Catholic [modern] version) in the 14th [13th] Psalm,—where are they to be found?

In the celebrated Vatican manuscript, one of the oldest extant, these verses are written in the margin, with this note:—"These are placed nowhere in the Psalms; whence, therefore, the apostle took them must be subject of inquiry."[a] This is the question we propose to answer.

Let us first note down St. Paul's words as they appear in the respective translations (Rhemish and Authorized) of his Epistle to the Romans, iii. 10—18:—

Rhemish Version.	*Authorized Version.*
10. *As it is written:* There is not any man just.	10. *As it is written:* There is none righteous, no not one.
11. There is none that understandeth, there is none that seeketh after God.	11. There is none that understandeth, there is none that seeketh after God.
12. All have turned out of the way, they are become unprofitable together; there is none that doeth good, there is not so much as one.	12. They are all gone out of the way, they are together become unprofitable; there is none that doeth good, no not one.
13. Their throat is an open sepulchre, with their tongues they have dealt deceitfully: the venom of asps is under their lips:	13. Their throat *is* an open sepulchre, with their tongues they have used deceit: the poison of asps is under their lips.
14. Whose mouth is full of cursing and bitterness.	14. Whose mouth *is* full of cursing and bitterness.
15. Their feet are swift to shed blood:	15. Their feet are swift to shed blood:
16. Destruction and misery are in their ways:	16. Destruction and misery are in their ways:
17. And the way of peace they have not known:	17. And the way of peace have they not known:
18. There is no fear of God before their eyes.	18. There is no fear of God before their eyes.

Now it is asserted by Romanists that St. Paul quoted from the Psalms of David (Psalm xiii. Douay version; xiv. Authorized version). But as the words contained in the 13th to 18th verses, are not found in the Authorized version of this Psalm, therefore this version is defective in this respect; and

[a] Montfaucon, "Origenis Hexapla," tom. i. p. 492, quoted by Dr. Jarvis in his reply to Dr. Milner's "End of Religious Controversy," p. 54. New York, 1847.

they have not hesitated to charge us with the sin of corrupting the Holy Scriptures: as proof of this charge they bid us examine their translations with ours, and then the fact will become apparent.

To make the subject clear to the reader, we will quote from the Psalm as given in the Douay version:—

"3. They are all gone aside, they are become unprofitable together: there is none that doeth good, no not one.

["Their throat is an open sepulchre; with their tongues they acted deceitfully; the poison of asps is under their lips.

"Their mouth is full of cursing and bitterness; their feet are swift to shed blood.

"Destruction and unhappiness in their ways; and the way of peace they have not known: there is no fear of God before their eyes.]

"4. Shall not all they know that work iniquity, who devour my people as they eat bread?" &c. &c.

Here, Protestants, it is asserted, have taken away from the Psalm all that part placed [ ] from the foot of verse 3.

The first peculiarity that presents itself is, that the verses alleged to have been suppressed by us, are not numbered in their version. Two distinct and entire verses stand without the usual, and, in fact, the otherwise invariable, numerical designation; they correspond with the 13th to the 18th verses of the iii. Romans, as cited by St. Paul. The next verse commences with the reference "4," and this corresponds exactly with the Protestant and Authorized division of numerals. St. Paul's words contained in the 12th verse stand as the 3rd verse in both the versions of the Psalms. It is presumed by Romanists, therefore, that when St. Paul quoted the 13th to the 18th verses, he quoted from the 13th Psalm. But the extraordinary fact of the omission of the usual numerical divisions, raises our suspicion that some adjustment has been made by Romanists *after* the introduction of the numerical division, and that St. Paul *did not* quote from the 13th Psalm alone, *but from various parts of the writings of the Old Testament,* and the transfer of the entire quotation to the 13th Psalm is not warranted by the original Hebrew text. It is true that St. Paul said, "It is written;" but he does not say that it is written in one particular Psalm.

It is admitted by both parties that the Psalms of David were written originally in the Hebrew language. The Hebrew text in consequence should be our authority. That portion alleged to be suppressed in our versions is not (as before remarked) to be found in the Psalm in question in the Hebrew

text. It is for Romanists, therefore, to account for the appearance of hese verses in their translations, or to prove that the original text has been falsified. We strictly follow the Hebrew version.

It may have escaped the observation of some, that the Psalm in question appears again in another part of the Book of Psalms in both versions; namely, Psalm lii. in the Douay version, and Psalm liii. in the Authorized. It is a remarkable fact, that in the Douay version the pretended omitted verses do not appear, and in all other respects the respective versions are similar to Psalm xiv., Authorized version, and to Psalm xiii., Douay version. We ask why have the Romanists omitted the verses in question from the lii. Psalm, and placed them in the xiii. ?

But St. Paul said, "It is written." We have now to show that the Apostle spoke truly, and where it was so written. We have, therefore, to account for the verses, 13th to 18th, so quoted by St. Paul in Romans iii.

1. Verse 13. *Their throat is an open sepulchre; with their tongues they have used deceit,* is taken from Psalm v.

Douay version (verse 11). "Their throat is an open sepulchre; they deal deceitfully with their tongues."

Authorized version (verse 9). "Their throat is an open sepulchre; they flatter with their tongue."

2. Verse 13. *The poison of asps is under their lips,* is taken from Psalm cxl.

Douay version (verse 4). "The venom of asps is under their lips."

Authorized version (verse 3). "Adders' poison is under their lips."

3. Verse 14. *Whose mouth is full of cursing and bitterness,* is taken from Psalm x. 7.

Douay version. "His mouth is full of cursing and of bitterness and deceit."[a]

Authorized version. "His mouth is full of cursing and deceit."

4. Verse 15. *Their feet are swift to shed blood,* is taken from Isaiah lix. 7.

Douay version. "Their feet run to evil, and make haste to shed innocent blood."

[a] This Psalm in the Douay version has no number, but is headed "Psalm x., according to the Hebrews;" the fact being, that the Roman Catholic versions are not translated from the Hebrew, but from the Vulgate, and the Vulgate, in this case, follows the Septuagint. This is an acknowledgment that the Hebrew text is not followed, and accounts also for the difference in the numerical series, we following the Hebrew.

Authorized version. "Their feet run to evil, and they make haste to shed blood."

5. Verse 16. *Destruction and misery are in their way,* is also taken from Isaiah lix. 7.

Douay version. "Wasting and destruction are in their paths."

Authorized version. "Wasting and destruction are in their paths."

6. Verse 17. *And the way of peace have they not known,* is from Isaiah lix. 8.

Douay version. "They have not known the way of peace."

Authorized version. "The way of peace they know not."

7. Verse 18. *There is no fear of God before their eyes,* is from Psalm xxxvi. 1.

Douay version (xxxv. 2). "There is no fear of God before his eyes."

Authorized version. "There is no fear of God before his eyes."

Thus we perceive, that when St. Paul wrote "It is written," he wrote truly, and these words *are* recorded in various parts of Holy Scripture.

The origin of the interpolation, and how it was occasioned, is thus stated by Dr. Jarvis:—In the year 1587 appeared at Rome the printed edition of the Greek Septuagint, professing to be an *exact* copy of the celebrated Vatican manuscript of which we have spoken. But instead of placing the three interpolated verses in the margin, together with the note of the annotator, which clearly showed that they did not belong even to the Greek text, the Roman editors *suppressed the note entirely,* and *embodied the three verses in the text!* Unsuspicious of this *fraud,* the learned world received the *Vatican text* as the true text of the Septuagint. The old Latin Vulgate was made from the Greek; and *there* the three verses were inserted as a part of the text. The famous Alexandrine manuscript, however, which was presented to Charles I. in 1628 by Cyril Lucar, the Greek patriarch of Constantinople, and now in the British Museum, *does not contain the three interpolated verses.*

II. *Have we any precedent admissible by Romanists themselves for coming to the decision that we are justified in maintaining the correctness of the Authorized version?*

This question is as easily answered as the former; and if it be maintained that the Prayer-book is right and the Authorized version is wrong, then we retort the dilemma suggested by Dr. Milner, on members of his own church; for it must be borne in mind that the note to Milner's text avers that

there is *no doubt* but that the Authorized Bible is *defective* by the alleged omission.

There[a] are some scores of editions of the Hebrew Bible and Psalter published by Romanists; there are also many translations of the Psalms from the Hebrew executed by distinguished members of the Roman Church,—into Latin by St. Jerome,[b] Pagninus, Montanus, Felix Pratensis (whose version was approved by Leo X.), Cardinal Cajetan, Malvenda, and Simeon de Muis;—into French by Le Maitre, Dupin, and others;—and into Italian by Francesco del Pozzo:[c] and we fearlessly challenge the production of one of these which contains the passage in question. Have then the editors of Hebrew Bibles, and all the above translators (to whom many others might be added), executed their task with fidelity, or have they wilfully mutilated the sacred text with the sanction or connivance of their ecclesiastical superiors? Are we to trust their Hebrew Bibles or their vulgar Latin ones?[d] Did their canonized St. Jerome obtrude *too much* upon us in the version which he mended, or fraudulently give us *too little* in that which he laboriously made? Truly Dr. Milner was well advised to bring a charge against us, in which doctors, and cardinals, and saints, and popes of his own Church, are equally involved.

[a] The following is adapted from the "Protestant Guardian," 1828, vol. i. pp. 85—87.

[b] This is usually printed along with St. Jerome's works; it differs materially from that in the Latin Bible, which is the ancient translation from the Septuagint, revised and partially corrected by Jerome.

[c] There is also an anonymous Italian version of the Psalter from the Hebrew, executed under the auspices of Catherine de Medicis, of which several editions were printed.

[d] Among a multitude of passages in the Fathers relative to this question, the following are deserving of notice:—"Latinæ linguæ homines Ebraicæ et Græcæ linguæ cognitione opus habent, ut ad exemplaria præcedentia recurratur, si quam dubitationem intulerit Latinorum interpretum varietas."—Augustinus de Doctrina Christiana, 2, 11. "Cum diversum aliquid in utrisque codicibus invenitur, quandoquidem ad fidem rerum gestarum utrumque esse non potest verum, ei linguæ potius credatur unde est in aliam per interpretes facta translatio."—De Civitate Dei, 15, 13. "In *Veteri Testamento* siquando inter Græcos Latinosque diversitas est, ad Ebraicam recurrimus veritatem."—Hieron., Epist. ad Suniam et Fretellam. "Cogimur ad *Hebræos recurrere* et scientiæ veritatem de fonte magis quam de rivulis quærere."—Hieron., Comment. in cap. 8 Zachariæ. This last citation from St. Jerome is embodied in the Canon law. (Distinc. 76, cap. Jejunium). In the same Canon law we find the following sound and rational maxim:—"Ut veterum librorum fides de *Ebræis voluminibus examinanda* est, ita novorum veritas Græci sermonis normam desiderat."—Distinc. 9, cap. ut Veterum. This, by the way, is an excellent specimen of the boasted harmony and unity of the Romish Church. We have the Fathers and the Canon law referring us to the Hebrew Old Testament and the Greek New one, as the only authentic standard; and we have the Council of Trent anathematizing us if we refuse to give that honour to the Vulgar Latin.

We might content ourselves with thus turning this formidable two-horned argument upon Romanists, and leaving them to grapple with it as well as they can. But lest some of our readers should erroneously judge of all Roman Catholic divines by Dr. Milner, we will, for their information, produce one or two passages relating to this subject from Romish commentators of rather more reputation for learning and honesty than Dr. Milner and his modern copyists. Let us first hear Calmet, a commentator justly esteemed both by Romanists and Protestants. On the words "Sepulchrum patens," &c. he observes :—"This verse and the two following as far as these words—'nonne cognoscent omnes qui operantur iniquitatem,' are not read in the Hebrew copies, neither here nor in the 52nd Psalm [*our* 53*rd*] which is parallel to this, nor in the Chaldee, nor the Syriac, *nor in the version of St. Jerome made from the Hebrew.* There are even several copies of the Septuagint where they are not found.* They were not read in the Complutensian edition, nor by Theodoret, nor St. Chrysostom, nor Euthymius, nor Arnobius, nor Apollinarius. Neither the authors of the Greek Catena, translated by Daniel Barbarus, nor Eusebius of Cæsarea, have given any explanation of them. In a word, St. Jerome affirms that '*all the Greek expositors* who have left us their learned commentaries upon the Psalms, mark these verses as spurious and pass them by, plainly acknowledging that they are not in the Hebrew, nor in the Seventy Interpreters, but in the Vulgate edition which the Greeks call Κοινη, and which differs in every part of the world.'"—Calmet, Comment. in Psalm xiii.

But perhaps it may be asserted that Calmet was so *liberal* as sometimes to overstep the bounds of orthodoxy. Let us then see whether objectors will gain anything by the testimony of Estius. Anything savouring of heresy will scarcely be suspected or advanced by Romanists from the Divinity Chair of the University of Douay; the great fountain where so many generations of English Romanists imbibed their theological knowledge. The following passage is an extract from his commentary on Romans iii. 10—18. "As to the texts here cited by the Apostle, though they have all been extant for some time *in the common Latin copies in one place,* namely,

* Calmet might have said that they are not found in *any one* good manuscript of the LXX. as an integral part of the text. In the famous Vatican MS. they are written in the *margin* with an annotation to this effect :—"These words do not occur *anywhere in the Psalms;* it remains therefore to be inquired whence the Apostle took them." Nevertheless, Cardinal Caraffa, who superintended the Roman edition, thought proper to insert them in the body of the Psalm, in defiance of the MSS. and all the best critics.

in the 13th Psalm, even before the times of Jerome and Augustine, it must nevertheless be known that they are not all found in that Psalm in the Hebrew, nor in the translation of the Seventy. This is expressly testified by Jerome in the preface to the 16th book of his commentary upon Isaiah, and it is also confirmed by that commentary on the Psalms which bears the name of Jerome; neither does the Chaldee paraphrase acknowledge them in that place. Jerome also adds that all the Greek expositors who have published commentaries on the Psalms, plainly make the very same acknowledgment; and he says that *they who were ignorant of the Apostle's method of blending texts together*, when they looked out for a proper place for the testimony alleged by him—which they did not think was done without the authority of Scripture—*transferred them to that Psalm in which they found the first words.* There have indeed been some persons who maintained that those verses, discarded by Jerome, had been taken away from the Hebrew text of the Psalm referred to, and ought to be restored: in support of which they bring forward some Hebrew Psalter of the English Church. *But they are well and solidly refuted by Lucas Brugensis*, in his annotations on the Holy Bible, to which I refer the reader."[a]

We could easily fortify the above testimonies by the additional ones of Erasmus, Cardinal Cajetan, Lucas Brugensis, Agellius, Jansenius, and the Jesuits Mariana and Emanuel Sa. The substance of their criticisms, which it would be tedious to transcribe at length, is, that the verses in question form no genuine portion of the Psalm where they appear; that the passage in Romans is, as we have shown, an assemblage of texts from different parts of the Old Testament, which some well-meaning but injudicious transcriber introduced at an early period into the Italic or ancient Latin version of the Psalms, apparently from an over-busy and needless wish of protecting St. Paul's reputation; that it is acknowledged neither by the original Hebrew[b] nor any other version, excepting a few copies of the Κοινη, or Greek Vulgate, where it was evidently introduced from the Latin; and finally, that it is tacitly or expressly condemned by all the best ancient commentators.

And now we think our Roman Catholic readers will begin to perceive that Dr. Milner has thrown a stone at our church which recoils upon his own. The conclusion of the whole

[a] Estius, Comment. in Epist. ad Rom. p. 33, ed. Paris, 1653.

[b] Emanuel Sa says it is to be found also in the Ethiopic and Arabic Psalters. We suspect, however, that he relies upon those printed at Rome, which in many instances were altered according to the Vulgate.

matter is, that this passage, which is selected with such singular felicity to convict us of mutilating the word of God, turns out to be a manifest interpolation, for which the world is exclusively indebted to Dr. Milner's *authentic* Latin version! This, it must be confessed, is a notable proof of the vigilance and fidelity with which the Church of Rome exercises the office which she arrogates to herself of *sole preserver* and *guardian* of the Holy Scriptures! After all, though this corruption originally was caused by a reprehensible tampering with the sacred text, we freely admit that it is one in which no point of faith or morals is concerned. We do not blame the transcribers and printers of the Vulgate for giving us what they found in their manuscripts, nor are we disposed to be severe upon the simple and well-meaning Romanist who takes the passage in question as he finds it in his Psalter. But when it is made the vehicle of an atrocious and unfounded imputation upon our Church, and the honour and integrity of our most learned divines, we repel the charge with indignation, and confidently appeal to the wisest and best-informed members of their own communion for our vindication. We moreover assert, that they who are so ill-advised as to prefer this charge against us, are either grossly deficient in erudition and critical skill, or that they malevolently bring an accusation against us which they know to be groundless: and we doubt whether it will be found as easy to clear Dr. Milner of this reproach as it is to vindicate the fair-dealing of the Church of England.

No. III.

THE RULE OF FAITH.

Alleged Corruption of the Authorized Version of the Bible.—1 John v. 7.

IN our last article we examined Dr. Milner's accusation against our Church for having *taken away* from the words of Scripture. The accusation is based on the supposed omission of certain verses from Psalm xiv. (Douay version, xiii.), which appear in the liturgical version of the Psalms. Our authorized version of the Bible was declared to be "without doubt *defective*" in this respect.

The object of this attack was sufficiently explained in the introductory remarks to the last article, to which we beg to refer our readers. With the same object in view, Dr. Milner

proceeds to insinuate that our version is "spurious" by an *addition* to God's word. Thus in either way falling under the curse conveyed in Rev. xxii. 18, 19.

To establish his second point, it must be observed that Dr. Milner does not make the accusation in an unequivocal and open manner, as if conscious of its truth, but by an underhand insinuation, leaving the desired impression in the mind of the uninstructed reader, that the example given is *peculiar* to the Authorized Bible.

Our readers will better appreciate the artifice if we set out the entire passage:—

"Look, then, at Psalm xiv. as it occurs in the Book of Common Prayer, to which your clergy swear their 'consent and assent;' then look at the same psalm in your Bible: you will find four whole verses in the former which are left out in the latter. What will you here say, dear sir? You must say that your Church has added to, else that she has *taken away from, the words of this prophecy.*"

And in a note is added:—

"The verses in question being quoted by St. Paul, Rom. iii. &c., there is no doubt but the Common Bible is *defective* in this passage. On the other hand, Bishop Marsh has published his conviction that the most important passage in the New Testament, 1 John v. 7, for establishing the Divinity of Jesus, is 'spurious.'"[a]

The italics, which are important to be observed, are as given in Milner.

Now the inference here intended to be conveyed is undoubtedly, that whereas in the first instance our Bible is *defective* by the subtraction or suppression of matter, so is it also "spurious" by the *addition* of a "most important passage in the New Testament for proving the Divinity of Christ."

The first question we have already disposed of, we trust, satisfactorily.—(See Article II.)

As to the second charge, either our translation is spurious or it is not, in the case cited. If it be not, then there was no necessity for Dr. Milner to question the text at all. But by placing this last sentence of the above note immediately after that of charging us with subtracting from the Word of God, wherein our version was declared *defective*, we conclude that the present charge is that we *are* guilty of *adding* to the Word of God.

From the above extract, who would have had the slightest

[a] Letter ix. p. 116.

notion that the Roman Catholic versions in circulation in this country, *without exception*, have the verse in question, and that too without any comment or note throwing any doubt upon its genuineness? Such is the fact!

We give the text as it stands, word for word, in the two versions:—

Authorized Version.	*Rhemish Version.*
For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one.	For there are three that give testimony in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one.

In another part of this book, Dr. Milner says, "The whole right to the Scriptures belongs to the [Roman] Church. She has preserved them—she vouches for them."—(Letter xii.) If this be true, we are quite at a loss to discover on what grounds Dr. Milner attempts to throw a doubt on the genuineness of a text which is thus emphatically vouched for by his own Church.

We think this a most apt illustration of the title we have chosen for our present series, being "a pious fraud," exemplified by Dr. Milner, in his "End of Religious Controversy." And thus we have a priest of Rome, for the sake of damaging the English Bible, casting aside all his exclusive notions about the "Church," "Councils," and "Tradition;" and accepting the opinion of a private doctor (whom, by the way, he misnames) as decisive at once of a long-litigated question, if it may but subserve a sectarian purpose; and this, too, concerning a doctrine which his own Church doctors expose to contradiction and degradation, by placing it upon a level (and the evidence supporting it) with the doctrine of Transubstantiation.

No. IV.

THE RULE OF FAITH.

Alleged Inaccuracies in the Authorized Translation of the Bible.—1 Cor. xi. 27; Matt. xix. 11.

Not content with his endeavours to destroy the authority of, and unsettle our faith in, the Holy Scriptures, Dr. Milner represents Protestant readers as labouring under additional difficulties, since they are stated to rely on a translation "wilfully corrupted." The fidelity of the Authorized version is now assailed, and his correspondent, in Letter ix.,

is asked, "Can you consistently reject the authority of the great universal Church, and yet build upon that of *some obscure translator* in the reign of James I.?" Dr. Milner, however, gives credit to the "new translators" for having "corrected many wilful errors of their predecessors, most of which were levelled at the Catholic doctrines and discipline;" and then for particulars we are referred to "Ward's Errata:" —"yet [he continues] they have left a sufficient number of them behind, for which I do not find that their advocates offer any excuse whatever" (p. 117).

In the present instance Dr. Milner has not dealt in generalities, but furnishes us with two examples of retention of alleged wilful corruptions in our Authorized version:—"1 Cor. xi. 27, where the conjunction *and* is put for the disjunctive *or;* and Matt. xix. 11, where *cannot* is put for *do not,* to the altering of the sense in both instances." These "corruptions" are also stated to "stand in direct opposition to the originals."

And, in Letter xxxix., Dr. Milner writes more plainly on the text, 1 Cor. xi. 27: he says, "Another more important passage for communion under either kind, he [Bishop Porteus] unfairly suppresses, where the Apostle says, '*Whosoever shall eat this bread* OR *drink the chalice of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord.*' True it is, that in the English Bible the text is here corrupted, the conjunction AND being put for the disjunctive OR, contrary to the original Greek, as well as the Latin Vulgate, to the version of Beza, &c.; but as his lordship could not be ignorant of this corruption, and the importance of the genuine text, it is inexcusable in him to have passed it over unnoticed."

And in a note is added:—

"The Rev. Mr. Grier, who has attempted to vindicate the purity of the English Protestant Bible, has nothing else to say for this alteration of St. Paul's Epistle, than that in what they falsely call the parallel texts of Luke and Matthew, the conjunction *and* occurs" (pp. 377, 378).

The reader will not fail to observe the positive manner in which Dr. Milner talks of the *original Greek,* the Latin Vulgate, and the *genuine text,* and of the equally positive term "corruption" as applied to the Authorized rendering; and though Grier's attempt may be summarily put down as a failure, it will be found that we have "something else to say in vindication of this (alleged) alteration of St. Paul's Epistle," than a reference to parallel texts; and we in turn declare it to be "inexcusable in Dr. Milner to have passed over unnoticed" authorized editions published by members of *his own*

Church, who claim as much respect at our hands as Dr. Milner, and who render one of the two texts, at least, as we do.

The two instances cited are taken from "Ward's Errata," and the alleged object of these corruptions is there also stated.

We will consider each text in turn.

I. The respective versions thus render 1 Cor. xi. 27:—

Rhemish Version.	*Authorized Version.*
Now in Circulation.	
Wherefore, whosoever shall eat this bread OR drink the chalice of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord.	Wherefore, whosoever shall eat this bread AND drink this cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord.

The Protestant version has "*and* drink;" all the modern Romish have "*or* drink;" the Vulgate, it is alleged, following the Greek ἤ, and consequently having *vel, or*. The English translators, however, selected the reading καὶ, for which there is good MS. authority, and have accordingly rendered it by *and*.

The object of this alleged perversion is stated by Ward to be "on purpose to infer a necessity of communicating under both kinds, as the conjunction 'and' may seem to do: whereas, by the disjunctive 'or' it is evident that we may communicate in one kind only."[a] In alleging this reason Dr. Milner follows Ward.

1. We will first address ourselves to the alleged *object* of the perversion.

We assert, that this criticism gives no countenance to communion in one kind, because, by reference to all editions of the Greek, Latin, and English versions, put forth by Romanists, no less than five times they use the conjunction AND in joining the bread and cup together, to be *both* received in remembrance of Christ.[b] Therefore, to say that the cup is not necessary, is to make the Apostle contradict himself, as well as our Lord's institution. There was, therefore, no necessity for altering the 27th verse for any such alleged purpose. But we have no reason to ignore the rendering *or*, if well considered; for we find "*or* drink" placed immediately before and immediately after "and drink," which strengthens the cause of the Protestants by making the cup of equal necessity and importance with the bread; why then wilfully reject a text which is so much in our favour! The practice of the early Church of giving the cup to the laity is not denied. Besides, whatever may be the true reading, the doctrine of half-commu-

[a] Ward's "Errata of the Protestant Bible," p. 45. Dublin: 1841.
[b] 1 Cor. xi. 26, 28, 29; x. 16, 17.

nion gains nothing by it; because the Apostle teaches that either to eat OR drink unworthily as wrong. That the Corinthians *drank* of the cup is plainly declared in the context.[a]

2. But, secondly, the Protestant rendering is by no means without a precedent, and has authority besides that of some alleged "obscure translator in the reign of James I."

To establish this assertion, the following, which we extract from Mr. Kennard's reply to the Rev. Paul Maclachlan, Roman priest in Falkirk, who brings the same accusations, borrowed from Milner and Ward, will amply suffice.[b]

We find it stated in Wolf's "Curæ Philologicæ et Criticæ,"[c] that more than thirty of the earliest printed editions of the Vulgate translation, between 1462 and 1569, have *et biberit* (and drink), agreeing with our own version. Again, Missals, both printed and MS., likewise read *et biberit*, which is proved by Le Brun, a late priest of the Oratory at Paris, in "Continuat. Memoriarum Literariarum et Histor.;"[d] and in the Paris "Ephemerides,"[e] quoted by Blair, "Letters on the Revival of Popery."[f] Mr. Blair also testifies that he had himself searched in numerous old editions, both MSS. and printed, of the Vulgate, and German and French translations, and found the rendering as given by our authorized translation, which is condemned as heretical. Among these is the very first Bible ever printed by Fust and Guttenburg, called the Mazarine Bible, about A.D. 1450, or soon after; that of Mentz, 1462; the Polyglott of Cardinal Ximenes, with the authority of Pope Leo X.; Eggestein's Bible, A.D. 1468; that of Nicolas de Lyra; Peter Comestor's "Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle," written in the middle of the twelfth century; the Bible of the Louvain Doctors; that of the Paris Doctors and the Benedictine editors; the grand Polyglott of Antwerp; the Bible of Salamanca University, and many others, all published before the time of Luther, Cranmer, &c. &c.

Again, "the reading καὶ is supported by the Uncial MSS., the Alexandrine, and the Clermont, with two others, and even the Vulgate in the Complutensian Polyglott."[g] To

[a] See Elliott's "Delineation of Roman Catholicism," book ii. cap. vi. p. 184. London, 1851.

[b] Controversial Correspondence between the Rev. Paul Maclachlan and R. W. Kennard, Esq. Partridge and Co., London, 1855, pp. 178-9.

[c] Edit. Basil. 1741, vol. iii. p. 492.

[d] Tom. viii. part i. n. iii.

[e] An. 1730, Dec. p. iv. 451, et seq. ed. Belg.

[f] London, 1819, pp. 244—252.

[g] Mendham's "Literary Policy of the Church of Rome," p. 359, App. London, 1830.

these let us add that the following three editions have *and*, and not *or*, in the text in question; the first printed at Nuremberg by Ant. *Koberger*, 1487; the second at Paris, 1504, by *Petit*; and the third at the same place by *Thielman Kerver*, 1526. And in referring to the edition of St. Jerome's works, edited by Erasmus, and printed at Basil, 1516, we find the same reading *et* in the text.[a]

It would be tedious to enumerate all the editions published by Roman Catholics; we shall therefore confine ourselves to a view of the most remarkable ones. 1. The Syriac New Testament, Vienna, 1556-62, patronized by the Emperor Ferdinand, and edited by Albert Widmanstad, the Imperial Chancellor. 2. The Antwerp Polyglott, 1569-72, patronized by the King of Spain, and approved by the Louvain divines, several cardinals, and Pope Gregory XIII. 3. The Paris Polyglott, 1628-45, approved in the General Assembly of the Gallican Church. 4. The Syriac and Arabic Testament, printed at Rome by the College of the Propaganda, 1703; and many others enumerated by Le Long, Boerner, and Masch, all of which render the text in question as we do.[b] And there is yet to notice "the curious and important fact," that "the jealous and sharp-sighted Spanish inquisitors, who ordered a few corrections to be made in the edition of the Latin Vulgate, printed by Colinæus, 1541, wherein the passage stands 'ET biberit,' find no fault whatever with the above text."[c]

Now what becomes of Dr. Milner's false accusation against our Protestant Bible? His Roman Catholic readers and admirers will in future, we trust, have but little confidence in his assertions.

II. The second text, Matt. xix. 11, is thus rendered in the respective versions:—

Roman Catholic.	*Protestant.*
All receive not this word, but they to whom it is given.	All men cannot receive this saying, save they to whom it is given.

Ward's objection to our rendering is thus expressed: Vulgate, *Non omnes capiunt;* Greek, Οὐ πάντες χωροῦσι. "It

[a] Ingram's "Popish Doctrine of Transubstantiation Refuted," p. 36. London, 1840. "Here, by the way, on the words 'guilty of the body and blood of the Lord,' St. Jerome says nothing in the Commentary that will in the least favour the sense assumed by Mr. Brigham, but merely observes, '*Quia tanti mysterii sacramentum pro vili despexerit*' (tom. ix. fol. 156)." Again, "Qui enim indignè manducaverit ET biberit, reus erit violati corporis et sanguinis Christi."—Op. tom. iv. adv. Jovin. lib. 2, sec. 14.

[b] "Protestant Guardian," vol. i. 1827, p. 105.

[c] See the "Spanish Index Expurg. of 1667," pp. 126-9.

is against the profession of continency in priests and others, that they [Protestants] translate our Saviour's words respecting a 'single life,' and the unmarried state, thus, 'all men cannot,' &c., as though it were impossible to live continent, where Christ said not 'that all men cannot,' but 'all men do not receive this saying.'"[a]

Here let us us note a strange inconsistency. "Ward's Errata" was edited by Dr. Lingard, the Romish historian, who wrote an introduction to this work in its defence. Dr. Lingard has since published a translation, which he has entitled "New Version of the Four Gospels, with Notes," &c. London, 1851; and he there renders this very text "All men *are not capable.*" Wherein, then, consists the heresy of saying "All men *cannot?*"

The same objection was made by Daniel French, Esq., a Roman Catholic barrister, in his discussion with Dr. Cumming. We shall adopt the Doctor's reply.[b] The question is, whether of the two is, not the more literal, but the more faithful rendering; for every one acquainted with ancient languages must know that a *verbatim* rendering is not always correct. Which then is the real meaning? We read in the Douay version, at the end of the twelfth and next verse, "He that can receive it, let him receive it;" thereby explaining the meaning of the former verse to be, "All men cannot," and not "do not;" implying evidently that there are some who can, and others who cannot: and if there is any meaning in the passage at all, "all do not" means "all cannot," because the reason why a man does not a thing he wishes to do, must be that he cannot do it.[c]

To refer to another passage, Gal. v. 17, where the same thing occurs: "So that," it is in our version, "ye *cannot* do the things that ye would;" in the Rhemish edition it is, "So that you do not the things that you would." Now, it will be observed, that in our version it is, "ye cannot do;" in this (Rhemish) version it is, "do not." Now if one *will* to do a thing, the reason why he *do not* do it must be that he *cannot* do it; because two things are requisite to action: first, the *will*, or volition; secondly, the *power*. Now, if he have *volition*, or the *will*, but do not do the thing, the natural inference is, that he has not the power; and therefore our translators have faithfully given the *meaning of the passage;* and the Rhemish translators have given a sort of literality which ends in absolute mystification.

[a] P. 54, edit. Dublin, 1841.
[b] See, "Hammersmith Discussion," edit. 1852, p. 477.
[c] The same objection is taken to our rendering of 1 Cor. vii. 9.

So much then for the two alleged corrupt renderings, by "an obscure translator in the reign of James I.," in the Authorized version.

III. And, thirdly, this last expression of Dr. Milner will raise a smile indeed when we transcribe the list of names selected to perform the arduous and responsible task of accomplishing the king's desire, "that our intended translation may have the help and furtherance of all our principal men within this our kingdom."[a]

The work was assigned, according to Fuller, to forty-seven of the most illustrious men of the day, who spent on it three years. The Scriptures were allotted, in six portions, to individuals selected as best adapted for the particular labour assigned to them.

The names and numbers of the persons, the places where they met together, with the portions of Scripture assigned to each company, are as follows:[b]—

I. WESTMINSTER. Ten.—*The Pentateuch, and the history from Joshua to the First Book of the Chronicles exclusively.*—1. Dr. ANDREWS, fellow and master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, then dean of Westminster, and afterwards bishop of Winchester. 2. Dr. OVERALL, fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, master of Katherine Hall, Cambridge, then dean of S. Paul's, afterwards bishop of Norwich. [He obtained his promotion from his great classical knowledge.] 3. Dr. SARAVIA, prebendary of Canterbury [the friend of Hooker and Whitgift]. 4. Dr. CLARKE, fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, vicar of Mynster and Monckton, in Thanet, and one of the six preachers in Canterbury. 5. Dr. LAYFIELD, fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and parson of St. Clement Danes. [Being skilled in architecture, his judgment was much relied on for the description of the tabernacle and the temple.] 6. Dr. LEIGH, archdeacon of Middlesex, and parson of All-Hallows, Barking [a profound linguist]. 7. Dr. BURGLEY. 8. Mr. KING. 9. Mr. THOMPSON. 10. Mr. BEDWELL, of Cambridge, probably of St. John's, and vicar of Tottenham, near London [the first Arabic scholar of his age].

II. CAMBRIDGE. Eight.—*From the First of the Chronicles, with the rest of the history and the hagiographa, viz., Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Canticles, Ecclesiastes.*—1. Mr. LIVELIE [professor of Hebrew, at Cambridge]. 2. Mr. RICHARDSON, fellow of Emanuel, afterwards D.D., master, first of Peter-house, then of Trinity College. 3. Mr. CHADDERTON, afterwards D.D., fellow first of Christ College, then master of Emanuel. [A Hebrew and Greek scholar, and versed in Rabbinical literature.] 4. Mr. DILLINGHAM, fellow of Christ College, beneficed at ——, in Bedfordshire, where he died. 5. Mr. ANDREWS, afterwards D.D., brother to the bishop of Winchester, and master of Jesus College. 6. Mr. HARRISON, the rev. vice-master of Trinity College [a first-rate linguist]. 7. Mr. SPALDING, fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Hebrew professor there. 8. Mr. BING, fellow of Peter-house College, Cambridge, and Hebrew professor.

III. OXFORD. Seven.—*The Four Greater Prophets, with the Lamentations, and the Twelve Minor Prophets.*—1. Dr. Harding, president of Magdalen College. 2. Dr. REYNOLDS, president of Corpus Christi College. [Wood says that his

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[a] King James's address to the Archbishop of Canterbury, dated 22nd July, 1604.

[b] See Hewlett's edition of the Holy Bible, in three vols. 4to. London, 1811, vol. i. p. 42.

knowledge of the Hebrew and Greek was almost marvellous.] 3. Dr. HOLLAND, rector of Exeter College, and King's professor of divinity. 4. Dr. KIRBY, rector of Lincoln College, and regius professor of Hebrew [an Orientalist of profound scholarship]. 5. Mr. [MILES] SMITH, afterwards D.D., and bishop of Gloucester. [Hebrew, Syriac, and Greek were to him as familiar as English.] He wrote the learned preface to the translation, and was one of those who revised the whole work when it was finished. 6. Mr. BRETT. He was eminently skilled in the Oriental languages, and was rector of Quainton, in Buckinghamshire, forty-two years. 7. Mr. FAIRCLOWE.

IV. CAMBRIDGE. Eight.—*The Prayer of Manasseh, and the rest of the Apocrypha.*—1. Dr. DUPONT, prebendary of Ely, and master of Jesus College. 2. Dr. BRAITHWAITE, first fellow of Emanuel, then master of Gonvil and Caius College. 3. Dr. RADCLIFFE, one of the senior fellows of Trinity College. 4. Mr. WARD, of Emanuel, afterwards D.D., master of Sidney College and Margaret professor. 5. Mr. DOWNES, fellow of St. John's College, and Greek professor. 6. Mr. BOYSE, fellow of St. John's College, prebendary of Ely, and parson of Boxworth, in Cambridgeshire. [The first Greek scholar of his age.] 7. Mr. Ward, fellow of King's College, afterwards D.D., prebendary of Chichester, and rector of Bishop Waltham, in Hampshire.

V. OXFORD. Eight.—*The four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and Apocalypse.*—1. Dr. RAVIS, dean of Christ Church, afterwards bishop of London. 2. Dr. ABBOT, master of University College, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. 3. Dr. EEDES.[a] 4. Mr. THOMPSON. 5. Mr. SAVILLE. 6. Dr. PERYN. 7. Dr. RAVENS. 8. Mr. HARMER.

VI. WESTMINSTER. Seven. — *The Epistles of St. Paul, and the other canonical Epistles.*—1. Dr. BARLOWE, of Trinity Hall, in Cambridge, dean of Chester, afterwards bishop of Lincoln. 2. Dr. HUTCHINSON. 3. Dr. SPENCER. 4. Mr. FENTON. 5. Mr. RABBET. 6. Mr. SANDERSON. 7. Mr. DAKINS.

Such, then, is the list of illustrious names who have given us our Authorized translation of the Bible, which Dr. MILNER asserts to be the production "of some obscure translator in the reign of James I."!!

No. V.

RULE OF FAITH.

The Protestant "Rule of Faith" and "Private Judgment."

THE burthen of Dr. Milner's book throughout is, that the Romish doctrines are misrepresented by Protestants. Suffering under this alleged injustice, the doctor should have been careful in not bringing upon himself a similar complaint when he undertakes to find fault with Protestant doctrines and teaching. We more particularly refer to Dr. Milner's remarks on the subject which forms the title of this article.

Dr. Milner pretends to divide the sects of "Christians" into three classes. The *first* are the "Montanists, Anabaptists,

[a] Instead of Dr. Eedes, Mr. Lewis has James Montagu, Bishop of Bath and Wells.—"History of Translations of the Bible in English," pp. 310-11, ed. 1739.

the Family of Love, Quakers, Moravians, and different classes of Methodists." Their "Rule of Faith" is asserted to be, or to have been, "*private inspiration*, or an immediate light and motion of God's spirit, communicated to the individual."

The second class consists of the "more regular sects of Protestants, such as the Lutherans, the Calvinists, the Socinians, the Church-of-England-men;" and their "Rule of Faith" is represented to be "*the written Word of God*, or THE BIBLE, *according as it is understood by each particular reader or hearer of it.*"

The third class are those of his own sect, whom he calls "Catholics." Their rule is stated to be "THE WORD OF GOD *at large, whether written in the Bible, or handed down from the Apostles in continued succession by the Catholic Church, and as it is understood and explained by the Church.* To speak more accurately, besides the *rule* of faith, which is *Scripture* and *Tradition*, Catholics acknowledge *an unerring judge of controversy*, or sure *guide* in all matters relating to salvation—namely, THE CHURCH."[a]

It is to that part of the second class referring to the "Church-of-England-men" that we shall for the present confine our remarks.

We have to thank the doctor for ranking "Church-of-England-men" among the "more regular sects of Protestants;" but we are placed in too close a proximity to "Socinians" to be agreeable. The intended compliment loses it value; for we have yet to learn that the "Socinians" are a sect of "Protestants" in the ordinary acceptation of the term, except that they *protest* against the fundamentals of Christianity, equally admitted by Protestants and Romanists.

From which of the authorized documents of the Church of England did Dr. Milner learn that *her* rule of faith is such as he has defined it to be? He gives no reference, and for this there is sufficient reason,—none exists.

In reply to Dr. Milner, we assert that the Church of England maintains the Rule of Faith to be THE BIBLE ALONE, *not as it is understood by each particular reader of it*, but according to the INTERPRETATION OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH, EMBODIED AND DISTINCTLY SET FORTH IN HER OWN ESTABLISHED STANDARD OF DOCTRINE AND WORSHIP, THE PRAYER BOOK.

For this assertion we appeal to the Thirty-nine Articles of our religion, of which the first declares our faith in the Holy Trinity; the second, in the Divinity, Incarnation, and Atone-

[a] The Italics and Capitals are as given by Dr. Milner, Letter vi. pp. 79, 80.

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ment of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; the third, His descent into Hades; the fourth, His resurrection; the fifth, the divinity of the Holy Ghost; the eighth, the Apostles' and the Nicene Creeds; the sixth, the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures, as containing all things necessary for salvation; and the twentieth, the *authority of the Church in controversies of faith*, as well as in the ordinary rites and ceremonies; which authority is again declared in the thirty-fourth article; to say nothing of a large amount of doctrine in the other articles, on justification, original sin, the sacraments, &c. So that there is not a single topic decided by the councils and the fathers, in the pure and primitive ages of the Church, which is not here distinctly set forth with the most admirable exactness and precision, leaving no room for "heretical private judgment" in any important point of the Christian doctrine.

And next we appeal to the fixed order of the Liturgy and offices of the Church of England, which not only sets forth the creeds and all the cardinal tenets of the ancient faith in the plainest terms, but keeps them constantly before the eyes, and on the lips, of our people; not wrapping them up in Latin, which for the most part none but the priest pretends to understand, but proclaiming them in the language of the country; and thus giving regularly the decisions of the "*judge of controversy*, THE CHURCH," to every man, woman, and child belonging to the body of the faithful.[a]

The judgment, however, of that Church, touching the TRUE SENSE of Doctrinal Scripture, is in no wise a mere arbitrary judgment; nor can it be called the *Private Judgment of the Corporate Anglican Church*, as contradistinguished from the *Private Judgment of any other Corporate Church.*

On the contrary, it is laid down *on certain fixed and intelligible principles*, which at once approve themselves to the right reason of every thinking individual.

While her sixth article, as we have asserted, recognizes Scripture *alone* as her binding Rule of Faith, her eighth article recognizes the three Creeds, as containing a Doctrinal Summary of what may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture. Now these three Creeds are the only three out of the numerous cognate Creeds which collectively and harmoniously run up to the Apostolic Age. Hence, in recognizing them, as giving the TRUE SENSE of the Bible, the Anglican Church appeals, not to her own mere insulated and

[a] Bishop Hopkins's "Refutation of Milner's End of Controversy," vol. i. pp. 14, 15. New York, 1854.

arbitrary private judgment, which would be only one degree more respectable than the insulated and arbitrary private judgment of an individual, but to the recorded historical testimony afforded by the universal consent of the Church from the beginning, as to the SENSE in which her SOLE rule of faith ought to be understood.

Agreeably to this system, the whole of her articles and homilies are constructed.

Throughout, she studiously refers to concurring antiquity, as bearing witness to the *sense* in which the doctrinal parts of Scripture were understood and explained from the very beginning; and as she herself thus fully renounces the claim of being her own insulated and arbitrary judge of the SENSE of the Bible, so, both by the imposition of the articles, and even explicitly in her nineteenth canon of the year 1571, she wisely, to her clergy, and through them to her laity, prohibits the absurdity of licentious and independent private judgment:—

"In the first place, preachers shall take heed, that they teach nothing in the shape of a sermon which they may wish to be religiously, held and believed by the people, except what is agreeable to the doctrine of the Old or New Testament, and what from that very teaching the Catholic fathers and ancient bishops collected."[a]

To the PRINCIPLE of the Anglican Church, thus distinctly set forth in her nineteenth canon, both Bishop Jewel and the learned Casaubon bear full and explicit testimony.[b] It may be added, what in some sort is still more important because directly *official*, that, in the year 1559, Queen Elizabeth similarly avowed this identical PRINCIPLE, as the TRUE PRINCIPLE of the Reformed Church of England, in her formal reply to the emperor and the other princes of the Romish persuasion.[c]

[a] Imprimis, videbunt concionatores, ne quid unquam doceant pro concione, quod a populo religiosè teneri et credi velint, nisi quod consentaneum sit doctrinæ Veteris aut Novi Testamenti, quodque ex illa ipsa doctrina Catholici Patres et Veteres Episcopi collegerint.—Canon. Eccles. Anglican. xix. A.D. 1571.

[b] Ista nos didicimus a Christo, ab Apostolis, et sanctis Patribus: et eadem bona fide docemus populum Dei.—Juell. Apol. Eccles. Anglican. apud Enchir. Theol. vol. i. p. 228. Vide etiam pp. 295, 323, 340.

Opto, cum Melanchone et Ecclesia Anglicana, per canalem Antiquitatis diduci ad nos dogmata fidei e fonte Sacræ Scripturæ derivata. Alioquin, quis futurus est novandi finis?—Casaub. Epist. 744. Vide etiam Epist. 837, 838.

[c] Nec causam subesse ullam cur concederet, cum Anglia non novam aut alienam amplectatur religionem, sed eam, quam Christus jussit, prima et Catholica Ecclesia coluit, et vetustissimi Patres una voce et mente comprobarunt.—Camden. Rerum Anglican. et Hibern. Annal. regnant. Elisab. A.D. 1559, par. i. p. 28. Lugd. Batav. 1639.

The very propounding of the Articles in the year 1562, *for avoiding of diversities of opinions and for the establishment of consent touching true religion*, might surely have convinced Dr. Milner that the Anglican Church teaches no such absurdity as that which he has been pleased to ascribe to her.[a]

And yet, in the face of all this, Dr. Milner had the hardihood to publish the charge, that the Rule of Faith in the Church of England is THE BIBLE *according as it is understood by each particular reader of it!* We invite our Roman Catholic readers to point out a more glaring example of theological misrepresentation than this, which yet is but a specimen of the author's style of management throughout the whole volume.

In a later part of the book, and in a long note, Dr. Milner attributes to the Reformers and Reformation, sedition, rebellion, blasphemies; and after reciting history in his own fashion, which we will have hereafter to examine, he declares one of the *principles* of the Reformation *especially* to be "that of each man's explaining the Scripture for himself."[b]

Had this been one of the "especial principles" of the Reformation, we might reasonably look for its enunciation in the writings of the Reformers; we shall therefore supply a few extracts, which are borrowed from the Rev. Richard Gibbings' learned work, "Roman Forgeries and Falsifications,"[c] to prove how fallacious is the statement advanced by Dr. Milner.

Cranmer's belief was that "we ought to interpret the Scriptures in conformity to the sense of the antients."[d] This feeling was of course produced by his agreement with Ridley, that "we haue (hygh prayse be geuen to God therfore) moste playnly, euidently, and clearly on oure side, all the prophetes, all the apostles, and vndoubtedly all the aunciente ecclesiasticall writers whiche haue written vntyll oflate yeares paste."[e] "The present question is," (says Stillingfleet,) "how far tradition is to be allowed in giving the sense of Scripture between us. Vincentius saith, we ought to follow it where there is antiquity, vniversality, and consent. This we are willing to be tryed by."[f] Instead of acknowledging that the Church of

[a] Faber's "Difficulties of Romanism," in Preface, 3rd edition, 1853.
[b] Letter xlvi. p. 436.
[c] London, 1849, p. xi. *et seq.*
[d] Collier's "Eccles. Hist.," ii. 56. London, 1714.
[e] "Letters of Martyrs," foll. 30, 31. London, 1564.
[f] "The Council of Trent examin'd and disprov'd by Catholick Tradition," Part i. p. 23. London, 1688.

Rome has "followed in the track of even the earliest fathers,"[a] or, with preposterous flippancy, granting that Popery "might fairly represent itself as *a reform upon early Christianity*,"[b] our Divines have continually rejoiced in the conviction that the fathers "must be trusted, but yet as men;"[c] that "the very doctrine of the Scriptures themselves, as they had been constantly understood and believed by all faithful Christians,"[d] "is at this day intirely professed in our Church,"[e] which founded "its Reformation on the prophets and apostles only, according to the explications and traditions of the ancient fathers."[f] It is certain "that we reverently receive the unanimous *tradition* or doctrine of the Church in all ages, which determines the *meaning* of the Holy Scripture, and makes it more clear and unquestionable in any point of faith wherein we can find it has declared its sense. For we look upon this *tradition* as nothing else but the *Scripture unfolded:* NOT A NEW THING, WHICH IS NOT IN THE SCRIPTURE, BUT THE SCRIPTURE EXPLAINED, AND MADE MORE EVIDENT."[g] "We believe the concurring judgment of antiquity to be, though not *infallible*, yet the *safest* comment upon Scripture,"[h] "which rule the Reformers of the Church of England proposed to themselves to follow:"[i] "nothing was more remote from their intention than indiscriminately to condemn all tradition;"[k] and "they who refuse to be tried by this rule . . are justly to be suspected; nay, it is evident that they are broaching some novel doctrines which cannot stand this test;"[l] inasmuch as "where the question is concerning an obscure place of Scripture, the practice of the Catholic Church is the best commentary."[m] "The principle on which we separated from the Roman Church was, not that we had discovered any new views of Scripture doctrines, but that we

[a] "Perverted Tradition the bane of the Church." A Sermon, by the Rev. Josiah Pratt, B.D., p. 6. London, 1839.

[b] Taylor's "Ancient Christianity," l. 79. London, 1839.

[c] "Calfhill's Avnswere to the Treatise of the Crosse," fol. 120. London, 1565.

[d] Sanderson's Sermons; ad Clerum, v. p. 6. London, 1681.

[e] Ussher's "Sermon preached before his Majestie," p. 27. London, 1631.

[f] Heylyn's "Histor. and Miscell. Tracts," p. 34. London, 1681.

[g] Patrick's "Discourse about Tradition," p. 11. London, 1685.

[h] Waterland's "Vindication of Christ's Divinity," p. 458. Cambridge, 1719.

[i] Chillingworth's Works, p. 285. London, 1742.

[k] Bishop Kaye's "Tertullian," p. 302. Cambridge, 1829.

[l] Leslie's Works, vol. i. pp. 71-2. Oxford, 1832. Compare "The Primitive Creed examined and explained," by Bishop Hopkins (of Vermont), Pref. p. vii. Burlington, 1834.

[m] Bishop Taylor's Works, by Heber, vi. 521. London, 1828. See his "Advice to his Clergy," in Randolph's "Enchir. Theol.," i. 348. Oxford, 1825.

desired to return to the primitive confession, the views held by the apostles and early fathers of the Church."[a] "If we reject SCRIPTURE, we reject the very basis of theological belief; if we reject ANTIQUITY, we reject all historical evidence to soundness of interpretation."[b] To these testimonies we may fitly add the command given to preachers by the Upper House of Convocation in the year 1571 :—"They shall in the first place be careful not to teach anything in their sermons, to be religiously held and believed by the people, except that which is agreeable to the doctrine of the Old or New Testament, and which has been deduced from the same doctrine by the Catholic fathers and ancient bishops."[c]

Dr. Milner proceeds to descant largely on the unhappy results of "private judgment," leading, as he would be glad to have his readers understand, to utter lawlessness, confusion, and anarchy. We need scarcely inform our Protestant readers that this assertion is as fallacious as that just examined. We do claim the privilege of "private judgment," but that "private judgment" is a very different thing from that which is attributed to us. Our work will not be complete without recording in our pages what we really mean by the right of private judgment, and for this purpose we cannot do better than transcribe the sentiments on this subject of the late talented Rev. J. E. Tyler, from his truly pious and learned work "Primitive Christian Worship."[d]

The foundation on which, to be safe and beneficial, the duty of private judgment, as we maintain, must be built, is very far indeed removed from that common and mischievous notion of it which would encourage us to draw immediate and crude deductions from Holy Scripture, subject only to the control and the colouring of our own minds, responsible for nothing further than our own consciousness of an honest intention. Whilst we claim a release from that degrading

[a] Rose's "State of the Protestant Religion in Germany," p. 21. Cambridge, 1825. Compare Bretschneider's "Apology for the modern Theology of Protestant Germany," p. 46, London, 1827; and Mr. Rose's Appendix to his work, pp. 78—81. London, 1828.

[b] Faber's "Prim. Doctrine of Election," p. 13. London, 1836.

[c] Sparrow's "Collection," p. 238. London, 1671. Vid. Strype's "Annals," vol. ii. part i. p. 107. Oxford, 1824. "Life of Parker," ii. 57. Oxford, 1821. Cosin's "Hist. of Transubstantiation," p. 7. London, 1676. Scriveneri "Apolog. pro S. Patt.," p. 57. London, 1672. Heylyn's "Life of Laud," p. 288. London, 1671. Patrick's "Discourse about Tradition," p. 15. London, 1685. Waterland's Works, v. 317. Oxford, 1823. Routh, "Reliquiæ Sacræ," vol. i. Præfat. p. xiv. Oxon. 1814. Bishop Mant, on the "Book of Common Prayer," p. 340. Oxford, 1820.

[d] London: printed for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1847, Part I. cap. i.

yoke which neither are we nor were our fathers able to bear, we deprecate for ourselves and for our fellow-believers that licentiousness which in doctrine and practice tempts a man to follow merely what is right in his own eyes, uninfluenced by the example, the precepts, and the authority of others, and owning no submissive allegiance to those laws which the wise and good have established for the benefit of the whole body. The freedom which we ask for ourselves, and desire to see imparted to all, is a rational liberty, tending to the good, not operating to the bane of its possessors; ministering to the general welfare, not to disorder and confusion. In the enjoyment of this liberty, or rather in the discharge of the duties and trusts which this liberty brings with it, we feel ourselves under an obligation to examine the foundations of our faith, to the very best of our abilities, according to our opportunities, and with the most faithful use of all the means afforded to us by its divine Author and Finisher. Among those means, whilst we regard the Holy Scripture as paramount and supreme, we appeal to the witness and mind of the Church as secondary and subsidiary; a witness not at all competing with Scripture, never to be balanced against it; but competing with our own less able and less pure apprehension of Scripture. In ascertaining the testimony of this witness, we examine the sentiments and practice of the ancient teachers of the Church; not as infallible guides, not as uniformly holding all of them the same opinions, but as most valuable helps in our examination of the evidence of the Church, who is, after all, our appointed instructor in the truths of the Gospel,—fallible in her individual members and branches, yet the sure witness and keeper of Holy Writ, and our safest guide on earth to the mind and will of God. When we have once satisfied ourselves that a doctrine is founded on Scripture, we receive it with implicit faith, and maintain it as a sacred deposit, intrusted to our keeping, to be delivered down whole and entire without our adding thereto what to us may seem needful, or taking away what we may think superfluous.

The state of the Christian thus employed, in acting for himself in a work peculiarly his own, is very far removed from the condition of one who labours in bondage, without any sense of liberty and responsibility, unconscious of the dignity of a free and accountable agent, and surrendering himself wholly to the control of a task-master. Equally is it distant from the conduct of one who indignantly casting off all regard for authority, and all deference to the opinions of others, boldly and proudly sets up his own will and pleasure as the only

standard to which he will submit. For the model which we would adopt, as members of the Church, in our pursuit of Christian truth, we find a parallel and analogous case in a well-principled and well-disciplined son, with his way of life before him, exercising a large and liberal discretion in the choice of his pursuits; not fettered by peremptory paternal mandates, but ever voluntarily referring to those principles of moral obligation and of practical wisdom with which his mind has been imbued; shaping his course with modest diffidence in himself, and habitual deference to others older and wiser than himself, yet acting with the firmness and intrepidity of conscious rectitude of principle, and integrity of purpose; and under a constant sense of his responsibility, as well for his principles as for his conduct.

Against the cogency of these maxims various objections have been urged from time to time. We have been told, that the exercise of private judgment in matters of religion tends to foster errors of every diversity of character, and leads to heresy, scepticism, and infidelity: it is represented as rending the Church of Christ, and totally subverting Christian unity, and snapping asunder at once the bond of peace. So also it has been often maintained, that the same cause robs individual Christians of that freedom from all disquietude and perplexity and anxious responsibility, that peace of mind, satisfaction, and content, which those personally enjoy who surrender themselves implicitly to a guide whom they believe to be unerring and infallible.

For a moment let us pause to ascertain the soundness of such objections. And here anticipating, for argument's sake, the worst result, let us suppose that the exercise of individual inquiry and judgment (such as the best teachers in the Anglican Church are wont to inculcate) may lead in some cases even to professed infidelity; is it right, and wise, and justifiable to be driven by an abuse of God's gifts to denounce the legitimate and faithful employment of them? What human faculty — which among the most precious of the Almighty's blessings—is not liable to perversion? What unquestionable moral duty can be found, which has not been transformed by man's waywardness into an instrument of evil? Nay, what doctrine of our holy faith has not the wickedness or the folly of unworthy men employed as a cloak for unrighteousness, and a vehicle for blasphemy? But by a consciousness of this liability in all things human, must we be tempted to suppress the truth? to disparage those moral duties? or discountenance the cultivation of those gifts and faculties? Rather would not sound philosophy and Christian

wisdom jointly enforce the necessity of improving the gifts zealously, of discharging the moral obligation to the full, and of maintaining the doctrine in all its integrity; but guarding withal, to the utmost of our power and watchfulness, against the abuses to which any of these things may be exposed? And we may trust in humble but assured confidence, that as it is the duty of a rational being, alive to his own responsibility, to inquire and judge for himself in things concerning the soul, with the most faithful exercise of his abilities and means; so the wise and merciful Ruler of our destinies will provide us with a sure way of escaping from all evils incident to the discharge of that duty, if, in reliance on his blessing, we honestly seek the truth, and perseveringly adhere to that way in which He will be our guide.

It is a question very generally and very reasonably entertained among us, whether the implicit submission and unreserved surrender of ourselves to any human authority in matters of faith (though whilst it lasts, it of course affords an effectual check to open scepticism), does not ultimately and in very deed prove a far more prolific source of disguised infidelity. Doubts repressed as they arise, but not solved, silenced but not satisfied, gradually accumulate in spite of all external precaution; and at length (like streams pent back by some temporary barrier) break forth at once to an utter discarding of all authority, and an irrecoverable rejection of the Christian faith. From unlimited acquiescence in a guide whom our associations have invested with infallibility, the step is very short, and frequently taken, to entire apostasy and renunciation of all belief.

The state of undisturbed tranquillity and repose of the man who, having divested himself of all responsibility in matters of religious belief and practice, enjoys an entire immunity from the anxious and painful labour of trying for himself the purity and soundness of his faith, is often painted in strong contrast with the lamentable condition of those who are driven about by every wind of novelty. The condition of such a man may doubtless be far more enviable than theirs, who have no settled fixed principles, and who wander from creed to creed, and from sect to sect, just as their fickle and roving minds suggest some transitory preference. But the believer must not be driven by the evils of one extreme to take refuge in the opposite. The whirlpool may be the more perilous, but the Christian mariner must avoid the rock also, or he will equally make shipwreck of his faith. He must with all his skill, and all his might, keep to the middle course, shunning that presumptuous confidence which scorns all

authority, and boldly constitutes itself sole judge and legislator; but equally rescuing his mind from the thraldom which prostrates his reason, and paralyzes all the faculties of his judgment in a matter of indefeasible and awful responsibility.

Here, too, it is questioned, and not without cause, whether the satisfaction and comfort so often represented in warm and fascinating colours, be really a spiritual blessing; or whether it be not a deception and fallacy, frequently ending in lamentable perplexity and confusion, like guarantees in secular concerns, which as long as they maintain unsuspected credit, afford a most pleasing and happy security to any one who depends upon them, but which, when adverse fortune puts their responsibility to the test, may prove utterly worthless, and be traced only by losses and disappointments. Such a blind reliance on authority may doubtless be more easy and more free from care than it is to gird up the loins of our mind, and engage in toilsome spiritual labour. But with a view to our own ultimate safety, wisdom bids us look to our foundations in time, and assure ourselves of them; admonishing us, that if they are unsound, the spiritual edifice reared upon them, however pleasing to the eye, or abounding in present enjoyments, will at length fall, and bury our hopes in its ruin.

On these and similar principles, we maintain that it well becomes Christians, when the soundness of their faith, and the rectitude of their acts of worship, are called in question, "to prove all things, and hold fast that which is good." Thus, when the unbeliever charges us with credulity in receiving as a divine revelation what he scornfully rejects, it behoves us all (every one to the extent of his means and opportunities) to possess ourselves of the accumulated evidences of our holy faith, so that we may be able to give to our own minds, and to those who ask it of us, a reason for our hope. The result can assuredly be only the comfort of a still more unshaken conviction. Thus, too, when the misbeliever charges us with an undue and an unauthorized ascription of the Divine attributes to our Redeemer and to our Sanctifier, which he would confine to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, exclusively of the Eternal Son and the Blessed Spirit, it well becomes every Catholic Christian to assure himself of the evidence borne by the Scriptures to the divinity of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, together with the inseparable doctrines of redemption by the blood of Christ, and sanctification by the Spirit of grace; appealing also in this investigation to the tradition of the Church, and the testimony of her individual members

from the earliest times, as under God his surest and best guides. "In both these cases," writes the venerable author from whom we are quoting, "I can say for myself that I have acted upon my own principles, and to the very utmost of my faculties have scrutinized the foundations of my faith, and from each of those inquiries and researches I have risen with a satisfaction increased far beyond my first anticipations. What I had taken up in my youth on authority, I have been long assured of by a moral demonstration, which nothing can shake; and I cling to it with an affection, which, guarded by God's good providence, nothing in this world can dissolve or weaken."

It is to engage in a similar investigation that we now most earnestly invite the members of the Church of Rome, in order to ascertain for themselves the ground of their faith and practice in various matters of vast moment, and which involve the principles of separation between the Roman and Anglican branches of the universal Church. Were the subjects of minor importance, or what the ancient writers were wont to call "things indifferent," reason and charity would prescribe that we should bear with each other, allowing a free and large discretion in any body of Christians, and not severing ourselves from them because we deemed our views preferable to theirs. In such a case we might well walk in the house of God as friends, without any interruption of the harmony which should exist between those who worship the true God with one heart and one mind, ever striving to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. But when the points at issue are of so vast moment; when two persons agreeing in the general principles of belief in the Gospel and its chief characteristic doctrines, yet find it impossible to join conscientiously in the same prayer, or the same acts of faith and worship, then the necessity is imperative on all who would not be parties to the utter breaking up of Christian unity, nor assist in propagating error, to make sure of their foundations; and satisfy themselves, by an honest inquiry and upright judgment, that the fault does not rest with them.

No. VI.

THE RULE OF FAITH.

The objection that Christ himself wrote no part of the New Testament.

THE first objection made by Dr. Milner against the Bible being considered as the sole Rule of Faith, lies in the asser-

tion, that "if Christ had intended that all mankind should learn his religion from a *Book*, namely the *New* Testament, he himself would have written that book, and would have enjoined the obligation of learning to read it as the first and fundamental precept of religion; whereas, he never wrote anything at all, unless perhaps the sins of the Pharisees with his fingers upon the dust."[a]

This, observes Dr. Jarvis, is about as wise a remark as that of the unbeliever mentioned by Paley, that "if God had given a revelation, he would have written it in the skies."[b] Such remarks can operate only on the unreflecting and vulgar mind. We are willing to believe that our Blessed Lord knew better than Dr. Milner what was proper for HIM to do, when HE told His disciples that the "HOLY GHOST should bring all things to their remembrance, whatsoever He had said unto them." The learned polemic might as well say, that if our Lord had intended that all men should enter His Church, He would have remained on earth to found it. But why did not Dr. Milner speak of the OLD TESTAMENT? Did not Christ constantly appeal to the Scriptures, meaning of course the Scriptures of the Old Testament? "Holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost."[c] And as God was the first Author of writing in the Old Law, so our Saviour Christ, God and Man, taught the same lesson by His own example and direction in the New. Dr. Milner's objection, foolish as it is, is not his own. It is as old at least as the days of Augustine, when it was refuted by this great writer, an admitted saint of his own church. "For when the disciples wrote [saith Augustine] what Christ showed and said unto them, it is not to be said that he did not write himself, inasmuch as the members wrote that which they learned by the inditing of the Head; for whatever He would have us to read of the things which He did and said, He gave in charge to them, as His hands, to write the same."[d]

It is a matter that should be particularly noted, that while Romanists express such great veneration for the early writers, known as the Fathers, when it suits their purpose, they do not hesitate to hold a line of argument which is not unfrequently in direct opposition to those early writers of the Christian Church. We have given one extract from St. Augustine's works completely opposed to Dr. Milner's views. To

[a] Letter viii. pp. 97, 98. [b] Evidences, part ii. ch. vi.

[c] 2 Peter, i. 21; see Exodus, xxxii. 16.

[d] Cum illi scripserunt, quæ ille ostendit et dixit, nequaquam dicendum est, quod ipse non scripserit, &c.—Aug. de Consens. Evangel. lib. i. c. 35, p. 26, tom. iii. part ii. Paris, 1680.

this we will venture to add one other, from many at hand of a similar nature. We Protestants believe that nothing in the Old or New Testament was written by accident, but under the immediate Providence of God, so as to be entitled to as much credit as if Christ had written it with his own hand; and so Augustine himself believed :—

"For as many of His actions and sayings as Christ wished us to read, these He commanded to be written in a book, as if it were by His own hands. For whosoever understands this common bond of unity, and ministry of members actuated by one spirit, in different offices, under one head, will receive the narratives of Christ's disciples in the Gospel no otherwise than if he saw the very hand of Christ writing it which was attached to His own body."[a]

And thus one and the same spirit that prescribed the Old Law to Moses, gave also express charge to the Evangelist St. John to "write these things."[b]

The object which Dr. Milner has in view is very apparent; he prefers the *preaching* to the *reading* for the people; for under the former those *traditions* of the Church can be maintained which cannot be *read* in the Word of God. The commission to *preach* is set above the commission to write and read.

Every effort is made by Rome to relieve itself from being subjected to the written word. If this grand rival to its own authority can but be displaced, so that it shall itself, under some pretext, be allowed to occupy the *first* place, the object is accomplished. There is then no appeal from the response of the managing priest; the ultimate authority is made to rest in that officer of the Church, and what he utters becomes law. Hence the eagerness of the Church of Rome to expose the insecurity, the evils, the calamities, the disasters, the follies, consequent upon the MERE use of the written Word; and to show how, *without a guide*, poor frail, fallible, erring man, must of course wander, and lose the grand object of his search, and all his pains. What can he know? and should any clergy, excepting those of Rome, pretend to instruct him, what can they do but mislead? Rome not being

[a] Quicquid enim ille de suis factis et dictis nos legere voluit, hoc scribendum illis tanquam suis manibus imperavit. Hoc unitatis consortium et in diversis officiis concordium membrorum sub uno capite ministerium quisquis intellexerit, non aliter accipiet quod narrantibus discipulis Christi in Evangelio legerit, quam si ipsam manum Domini, quam in proprio corpore gestabat, scribentem conspexerit.—August. De Consensu Evangelist., lib. i. cap. 35, edit. as above.

[b] Rev. i. 11, 19; see Sir H. Lynde's "Via Devia," sec. ix. p. 205. London, 1850.

sure of the meaning of that Word, from which she claims support for her teaching, there is no hope of succeeding properly; recourse must be had to a *teaching* and *preaching* church, properly authorized. These are some of Rome's notions, some of her assertions, some of the assumptions which must of course be involved in her setting aside the written Word in favour of a *teaching* and *preaching* company, under pretence that the one is empowered, and can act efficiently, while other courses can only mislead and delude; there being no order, especially for mere individuals, to read the Word.

But, if the absence of a direct unmistakable order to read is so much relied on, where have we, after all, any one word declaring, or so much as hinting, that this "teaching and preaching" is to be that of the Church of Rome? What one word appears either in the Holy Scriptures or the fathers of either church, Greek or Latin, to secure the Church of Rome in the grand privilege, of being sole teacher and preacher? or to declare from her fountain alone flowed all truth, all security, and all teaching of any value? Can no one read but herself? can no one see but herself? has no one any intellect but herself?

No. VII.

THE RULE OF FAITH.

The alleged limited scope and insufficiency of the Gospels and the Canonical Epistles of the New Testament as a Rule of Faith—Patristic Evidence.

With an instinctive dread of Holy Scriptures being considered as a Standard or Rule of Faith, Dr. Milner takes every occasion to place them in a secondary position. He informs us, that "only a part of them [the Apostles] wrote anything, and what these did write was, for the most part, addressed to particular persons or congregations, and on particular occasions.—St. Matthew wrote his Gospel at the particular request of the Christians of Palestine, and St. Mark composed his at the desire of those at Rome. St. Luke addressed his Gospel to an individual, Theophilus, having written it because it seemed good to him to do so. St. John wrote the last of the Gospels in compliance with the petition of the clergy and people of Lesser Asia. * * * No doubt the Evangelists were moved by the Holy Ghost to listen to the requests of the faithful in writing their respective Gos-

pels; nevertheless, there is nothing in these occasions, nor in the Gospels themselves, which indicates that any one of them, or all of them together, contain an *entire*, detailed, and *clear* exposition of the whole religion of Jesus Christ. The canonical epistles in the New Testament show the particular occasions on which they were written, and prove, as the Bishop of Lincoln observes, that 'they are not to be considered as regular treatises on the Christian religion.' "—(Letter viii. p. 98.)

Nothing, says Bp. Hopkins, can manifest more plainly the real spirit of Popery, than the necessity which its unhappy priests are under to disparage, in this style, the Scriptures of divine truth, in order to draw away the confidence of mankind from the sacred oracles to their own corrupt teaching; and therefore we must ask the attention of our readers to the various points which Dr. Milner puts in this most irreverent and blasphemous specimen of argumentation.

He had just before stated that the Saviour does not appear to have commanded His Apostles to *write*, though he repeatedly and emphatically commanded them to *preach* His Gospel. The inference desired to be conveyed of course is, that what they said *orally* is to be taken for our guide, as the Churches who heard them have handed it down by tradition, since in this mode Romish innovations may be imposed upon the world, under the pretence that they are derived from the *oral* teaching of the Apostles, notwithstanding there is not a trace of them to be found in the *written word*.

But does not the command to *preach* include every mode of teaching? When, for example, the Apostle Paul addressed his epistles to the Churches, *commanding that they should be read by the disciples when they met together*, was not this the PREACHING to those Churches, with the single difference, that as writings are intended to remain as the permanent monuments of instruction, they are always expected to be more full and deserving of repetition than the oral teaching, which is confined to a single delivery?

And what does Dr. Milner mean by saying that the Gospels and Epistles were addressed to particular persons or congregations, and on particular occasions? Did he ever hear of any divine revelation that was *not* addressed to particular persons, and on particular occasions? And, in the name of common sense, does that fact prevent its application to all other persons and occasions where there is equal need of it? And on the same ground, what advantage would he gain for his *oral traditions*, which are pretended to be derived from the same source? For we suppose that when the Apostles delivered the truth of God by the living voice, they

must have done it to particular persons or congregations, and on particular occasions, inasmuch as they certainly could not address the whole Church at once, except in writing, after they were dispersed throughout the world, in the fulfilment of their sacred mission.

He tells us, however, that the Christians of Palestine, and those at Rome, and those in Lesser Asia, requested that the Gospels might be written. He also says that "St. Luke addressed his Gospel to a single individual, *Theophilus*," apparently forgetting that this name cannot be shown to be the title of any particular man, since it signifies *a lover of God;* and hence it is at least as likely, if not much more so, that it was addressed to *every believer*, because each one of the faithful is a *Theophilus*, of necessity. But Dr. Milner takes care not to inform his readers *why* those requests were made, supposing, what cannot be proved, that the sacred writers did not prepare their several contributions until they had been requested. And yet it is most obvious that there could have been but one reason for such a request, viz., that the hearers desired to have a *permanent record of what had been delivered to them by the voice of the Apostles*, in order that they might be reminded of the truth by a lasting standard, and freed from the danger of distorting or losing any portion of the celestial revelation, through the inevitable infirmity of human memory. The ancient fathers state this expressly in the case of St. Mark's Gospel; and if it had not been stated, the slightest reflection would prove the necessity of such a course. And the history of the Church confirms it most painfully. Since if, *with the Scriptures*, so much falsehood and superstition have been added to the faith by a pretended apostolical tradition, what must have been the condition of the Church in case the wisdom of God had furnished no *fixed monuments of divine truth* as the standard of His will?

Neither is this the whole of Dr. Milner's sophistry. He informs us that the Gospels, taken altogether, do not contain an entire, detailed, and clear exposition of the whole religion of Jesus Christ. If he means by this that the rest of the New Testament, together with the Old, is supposed to be unnecessary, he treats his adversaries with the most absurd unfairness, because no one has ever undertaken to say that the rest of the Scriptures were superfluous, and that the whole religion of Christ is in the Gospels alone. If he means by an entire, detailed, and clear exposition of the religion of Jesus Christ, the system of the Papal Church, we fully agree with him, since it is very certain that the distinctive dogmas

of Popery, which the Church of England renounces, are not only unwarranted by the Scriptures, but are, in many respects, directly opposed to them. But if he means that the Scriptures of the New Testament do not contain all the doctrines of the Gospel faith, and all the morality of Christian practice, and, moreover, when taken in connection with the Old Testament, all the warrant required for the details of form and ceremony which the primitive Church adopted in worship and discipline, and which we have retained, we deny the assertion on the authority of the fathers, and on the ground of all sound argument. His quotation from the English Bishop of Lincoln, that "the epistles of the New Testament are not to be considered as *regular treatises* on the Christian religion," is nothing to the purpose. The question is, whether the divine Scriptures, as a whole, contain *a full and ample revelation of the Rule of Faith*, and not whether it has pleased the Spirit of God to put their instructions into the form of what Dr. Milner or any other uninspired man would call "a regular treatise."

The Church of Rome is compelled to acknowledge the Bible as THE WORD OF GOD, notwithstanding, like the ancient Pharisees, she makes it *void by her traditions*. Why, then, we ask, were these divine Scriptures given at all, if they were not designed to be the *standard for the Church of Christ*, just as the Books of Moses were the *standard for Israel* under the previous dispensation? For if, according to Milner's hypothesis, the faith of the Church was intended to rest on *oral tradition*, it is manifest that the written word would be of no real value. What can be more absurd than the idea that the Holy Spirit would dictate to the Church in this permanent shape an *incomplete, inconclusive, and unsatisfactory exposition?* That, while there are many things recorded there which are not strictly necessary to be known for our salvation, yet the Spirit of God *neglected to set forth the whole of the faith, without which no one could be saved!* That, while the Scriptures contain a rich abundance of fruits and flowers, yet they do not contain a sufficient amount of the Bread of Life! As well might they charge upon the Lord any other gross incongruity. As well might they persuade us, that although He has adorned our bodies with various members, and provided for the least among them the form of grace and the beauty of colour, yet He neglected to furnish the lungs to breathe, the brain to govern, or the heart to circulate the blood of their vitality! As well might they contend, that although His bounty had filled our lower world with an exuberance of light, and a vast variety of vegetation,

yet He had omitted the supplies of food which were essential to our being! Is it not an amazing proof of infatuation that the Papal Church will thus persist in attributing to God that which would be reproached as an absurdity in any human lawgiver? For who does not know that every earthly governor is chiefly careful to provide first what is most necessary? Or what mortal author ever sought to instruct the world, without giving his chief attention to that which he thought most important for his reader's information?

But such is the deplorable irreverence of Papal writers towards the Word of God, that they deny its chief office as *the Rule of Faith, the Guide to Heaven, the Light of the Church and of the world.* The Scriptures are indeed inspired, they admit; but the written dictates of the Holy Ghost are not of half so much importance as the debates of a Roman Council! The Evangelists and Apostles wrote the Gospels and Epistles by the direction of the Almighty; but the Pope and the Bishops of Trent are far better teachers than they! The Lord undertook to teach the way of life, but left out an essential portion of the lesson! The Redeemer placed His saving truth on permanent record in a Book, but the truth thus recorded was not worthy of being received as sufficient for salvation! He inspired His special messengers, and gave them holiness, and miracles, and tongues, and made them His organs to publish a written revelation, and called it, by pre-eminence, the Gospel. But he intended, notwithstanding, that their work should be full of fatal defects and express falsehoods, in order that a succession of uninspired men, many of them destitute of holiness, some of them monsters of crime, and all of them without miracles or any other supernatural gift, might accomplish the task of supplying and contradicting them!

Such is the fundamental proposition of Popery. The Bible must be cast down, in order to set up her traditions. The supremacy of the divine Scriptures must be dethroned, and the dictates of Popes and Councils must be invested with the crown and sceptre. And there is the head and front of her offence against Heaven. It is cunningly devised. It is artfully set forth. It is eloquently defended. But it comes to this at last, and no sophistry can disguise it. And hence we look upon the Papal system as involving a high and very awful, though a covert blasphemy against the majesty of God.—(Hopkins, pp. 289—295.)

Dr. Milner throughout his work is very profuse in his reference to the "Fathers" of the Church wherever he can, as he fancies, squeeze out an acknowledgment that may in any way bear out his modern Romish Tridentine views. But it is

remarkable how barren are his pages of patristic support when he comes to degrade the WORD OF GOD, by placing it on a level with the traditions of his Church. He does not advance one single name, but a bishop of Lincoln (whose meaning he perverts) to support his views. We have above advanced an assertion, that the Scriptures do contain all that is necessary to salvation in faith, morals, in worship, and in discipline; and in this we are amply borne out by the testimony of the early Christian writers.

The Church,[a] during a long succession of ages, beginning with the immediately post-apostolic times, is regarded by us, Protestants, as a valuable corroboration of the conclusion which, however, we deem sufficiently established by the testimony of Scripture itself, and by the reason of the case.[b] But to Roman Catholics, who professedly rest much of their belief on the authority of the Fathers, the argument now under consideration ought to be conclusive. We say, then, that a chain of evidence, bearing on the supreme importance and sufficiency of the *written* Word of God, can be drawn out from the works of the great Church Fathers, proving incontestably that the doctrine of the modern Church of Rome, regarding the *in*-sufficiency of Scripture, and the co-ordinate authority of an *independent* Tradition, was utterly unknown to the ancient Church either of the East or West. To exhibit all these testimonies in detail would far transcend our limits: we shall therefore content ourselves with adducing a few of them as specimens of the whole.

We begin with IRENÆUS, the Bishop of Lyons, and the disciple and friend of Polycarp, who again had been the companion and disciple of the Apostle John. This Father represents the opinion of both the Eastern and Western Churches towards the end of the second century. Disputing against the Gnostic heretics, who denied the perfection and sufficiency of Scripture, and maintained that the truth could not be discovered from it by those who were ignorant of Tradition,[c] Irenæus says—"We ought to leave such things as these

[a] We take the following from the *Catholic Layman*, October, 1852, p. 110, *et seq.*

[b] Augustine thought as we do on this subject of patristic authority. "Other authors," he says, "however excellent their sanctity and learning, I read so as not to credit their assertions merely because they say thus: but because they have been able to persuade me, either by means of those canonical authors or by probable reasons, that their statements are not repugnant to truth."—August. ad Hieron. tom. ii. 15, ed. Bened.

[c] "When they [the heretics] are confuted out of the Scriptures, they turn round and accuse the Scriptures themselves, as if they were not accurate, nor of authority, and because they are ambiguous, and *because the truth cannot be discovered from them by those who are ignorant of tradition: for that the truth*

to God, who also made us, most rightly knowing that *the Scriptures indeed are perfect*, as having been dictated by the word of God and his Spirit."[a] Again—"For we have become acquainted with the dispensation of our salvation through no other men than those through whom the Gospel has come to us: which they then indeed preached, but afterwards, by the will of God, delivered to us in *the Scriptures, to be the foundation and pillar of our faith.*"[b] The last phrase, it will be remembered, is the very one applied by St. Paul to the Church—1 Tim. iii. 15. Irenæus, accordingly, here distinctly implies, that it was by the custody of the Sacred Scriptures that the Church was to sustain her office as "the pillar and ground of the truth." Once more—"Read more diligently *the Gospel* given unto us by the Apostles, and read more diligently the prophets, and ye shall find the general mode of action, and *the whole teaching*, and the whole passion of our Lord predicted in them."[c]

We come next to TERTULLIAN, who flourished a few years later than Irenæus—that is to say, about the end of the second century. This great writer, whom Vincentius of Lerins pronounces (Commonit., c. 24) to be, "apud Latinos facile princeps," thus expresses himself regarding Scripture, when arguing against the heretic Hermogenes, who maintained the eternity of matter:—"I adore the fulness of Scripture, which manifests to me the Creator and his works. . . . But whether all things were made of some pre-existent matter, I have as yet nowhere read. Let the shop of Hermogenes show that it is written. *If it is not written, let him fear that woe which is destined for them that add or*

was not delivered in writing but orally." (Cum enim ex Scripturis arguuntur, in accusationem convertuntur ipsarum Scripturarum, quasi non recte habeant, neque sint ex auctoritate, et quia varie sint dictæ, et quia non possit ex his inveniri veritas ab his qui nesciant Traditionem: non enim per literas traditam illam, sed per vivam vocem.—Cont. Hær. lib. iii. c. 2.) It is scarcely necessary to direct attention to the truly remarkable resemblance here exhibited between the respective positions taken up by the Gnostic heretics and Irenæus in the second century, and those occupied by the Church of Rome and the Church of England in modern times.

[a] Cedere hæc talia debemus Deo, qui et nos fecit, rectissime scientes quia Scripturæ quidem perfectæ sunt, quippe a Verbo Dei et Spiritu ejus dictæ.—Cont. Hær. lib. ii. c. 47, edit. Grabe; cap. 28, ed. 1853.

[b] Non enim per alios dispositionem salutis nostræ cognovimus, quam per eos per quos Evangelium pervenit ad nos: quod quidem tunc præconiaverunt, postea vero per Dei voluntatem in Scripturis nobis tradiderunt, fundamentum et columnam fidei nostræ futurum.—Lib. iii. c. 1.

[c] Legite diligentius id quod ab Apostolis est Evangelium nobis datum, et legite diligentius Prophetas, et invenietis universam actionem, et omnem doctrinam, et omnem passionem Domini nostri prædictam in ipsis.—(Lib. iv. c. 34, ed. 1853; cap. 66, ed. Grabe.) The meaning obviously is, that in the Gospel the general tenor of our Lord's actions and the whole of his doctrines were exhibited; whilst the prophets predicted all the circumstances connected with his passion.

take away."[a] Again, when disputing against the heretic Marcion, he says—"*I do not admit* what you bring forward of your own, *extraneous to Scripture.*"[b]

The next witness whom we shall cite is AMBROSE, the famous bishop of Milan, who flourished circ. A. D. 374. This eminent Father recognized no authority as co-ordinate with and independent of Scripture—"How," he says, "can we use those things which we find not in Scripture?"[c] And again —"I read [in Scripture] that He [Christ] is the first, I read that he is not the second: let those who say He is the second, *prove it by reading.*"[d]

Contemporaneously with Ambrose lived JEROME, unquestionably the most learned theologian of the Western Church. He thus expresses himself respecting the grounds upon which his belief was founded:—"As we deny not those things that are written, so we *reject those things that are not written.*"[e] The instance which he gives is peculiarly worthy of attention, when taken in connection with the various purely traditional notions entertained by the Church of Rome of the Virgin Mary—"That God was born of a virgin *we believe, because we read it.* That Mary married after she gave birth to Him, *we do not believe, because we read it not.*"[f]

A few years later—that is, towards the close of the fourth century—we come to AUGUSTINE. The writings of this Father have been always held in the highest esteem in the Western Church, and the Church of Rome, in particular, has ever regarded them with especial reverence. What, then, is Augustine's opinion on the point under discussion? "In those things," he says, "which are plainly laid down *in Scripture, all things are found which embrace faith and morals.*"[g] Again—"Whatsoever ye shall hear thence [*i.e.* from Scripture], let this savour well with you: *whatever is extraneous to*

[a] Adoro Scripturæ plenitudinem, quæ mihi et Factorem manifestat et facta. An autem de aliqua subjacenti materia facta sint omnia, nusquam adhuc legi. Scriptum esse doceat Hermogenis officina. Si non est scriptum, timeat *Væ* illud *adjicientibus aut detrahentibus* destinatum. — Tertull. adv. Hermog. c. 22.

[b] Non recipio quod extra Scripturam de tuo profers.—De Carn. Chris. c. 7.

[c] Quæ in Scripturis sanctis non reperimus, ea quemadmodum usurpare possumus?—Ambr. Offic. lib. i. c. 23.

[d] Lego quia primus est, lego quia non est secundus. Illi qui secundum aiunt, doceant lectione.—De Inst. Virg. c. 2.

[e] Ut hæc quæ scripta sunt non negamus, ita ea quæ non sunt scripta renuimus.—Hieron. adv. Helvid. tom. iv. pars ii. p. 141.

[f] Natum Deum esse de Virgine credimus, quia legimus. Mariam nupsisse post partum non credimus, quia non legimus.—Loc. cit.

[g] In iis, quæ aperte in Scriptura posita sunt, inveniuntur illa omnia quæ continent fidem moresque vivendi.—August. de Doctr. Christ. lib. ii. c. 9, tom. iii. 301, ed. Bened.

it, reject, lest ye wander in a cloud."[a] Again—"Wherefore if, concerning Christ, or his Church, or anything else whatsoever pertaining to your faith and living, I do not say we (who are not to be compared to Him, who said—'Although we,' &c. —Gal. i. 8), but even as St. Paul adds, '*an angel from heaven were to preach to you aught besides* (præterquam) *what you have received in the* legal and evangelical *Scriptures* [the Old and the new Testaments], *let him be accursed.*'"[b] It should be particularly observed, that Augustine is here not condemning the inculcation of doctrine *contrary* to Scripture, but *in addition* to it (*præterquam quod in Scripturis accepistis*).[c] Will any candid Roman Catholic say, that the above is the language of one who believed, as the Council of Trent teaches,[d] that there are Church traditions, respecting faith and morals, not contained in Scripture, and which are to be received with the same sentiments of piety and virtue as the Scriptures themselves? If more evidence be required, the same Father elsewhere says—"Those things, however, which appertain to the investigation and preserving of *true religion, Divine Scripture is not silent about.*"[e] Again, speaking of the confutation of heresy, he says—"There can be *no proof of true Christianity, nor* can there be any *other refuge of Christians* wishing to know the truth of the faith, *except the Divine Scriptures.*"[f] And, to quote once more, writing against the Donatists, he says

[a] Quicquid inde audieritis, hæc vobis bene sapiat: quicquid extra est, respuite, ne erretis in nebula.—August. Serm. de Pastor. c. xi. tom. v. 238.

[b] Proinde sive de Christo, sive de ejus Ecclesia, sive de quacunque alia re quæ pertinet ad fidem vitamque vestram, non dicam nos (nequaquam comparandi ei qui dixit *Licet si nos*), sed omnino (quod secutus adjecit) *si angelus de cœlo vobis annuntiaverit præterquam* quod in Scripturis legalibus et evangelicis accepistis, anathema sit. —August. cont. Petilium, lib. iii. c. 6, tom. ix. 301.

[c] The Rhemish translators correctly render the Greek παρ' ὃ in the 8th and 9th verses by "besides." But whilst they felt themselves constrained to follow the Vulgate version (præterquam quod, præter id quod), they take care to inform their readers, in their note, that, according to St. Augustine, what St. Paul here condemns is "such teaching as is contrary and disagreeing to the rule of faith." Now, this remark is not only at variance with the words of Augustine above cited, but even to the very passage of that Father to which they themselves refer, where he says,—"qui autem *prætergreditur* fidei regulam, non accedit in via, sed recedit de via."—(August. Trac'. in Johan. xcviii. 7.) We may add, that Theophylact and Œcumenius, in their commentaries on this passage of the Galatians, are also directly opposed to this Rhemish gloss. With respect to the Greek παρ' ὃ there seems to be no doubt that the correct translation is *besides* or *more than,* as the Rhemish translators themselves render it again in Rom. xii. 3.

[d] See the Decretum de Can. Scrip., Con. Trid. Sess. iv.

[e] Quæ tamen pertinent ad veram religionem quærendam et tenendam, divina Scriptura non tacet.—August. Ep. 42.

[f] Nulla probatio potest esse veræ Christianitatis, neque refugium potest esse Christianorum aliud, volentium cognoscere fidei veritatem, nisi Scripturæ Sacræ.—August. de Pastorib. c. 12, tom. ix. 279.

—"*Let them demonstrate their Church,* if they can, not by discourses and rumours of the Africans, not by councils of their own bishops, not by the writings of any disputants whatsoever, not by deceitful signs and wonders, against which we have been prepared and warned by the Word of the Lord, but by the words of the one Shepherd himself, in the whole *canonical authorities of the Sacred Books.*"[a] This remarkable passage is deserving of all attention from Roman Catholics.

Such are a few of the testimonies of the early Latin Fathers in favour of the Rule of Faith for which Protestants contend. When we turn to the Eastern Church, we find, if possible, even stronger statements upon the point.

CLEMENT of Alexandria, celebrated as one of the founders of the famous school of Alexandria, and the master of the renowned Origen, thus writes towards the close of the second century:—"They who are ready to labour for what is most excellent, will not desist in their search after truth *till they obtain demonstration from the Scriptures themselves.*"[b]

ORIGEN, the successor of Clement, in the beginning of the third century, says:—"In the two Testaments every word that appertaineth unto God may be sought and discussed, and out of them all knowledge of things may be derived. But *if anything remains which Divine Scripture does not determine, no other third Scripture ought to be received to authorize knowledge* . . . but let us commit to the fire what remains; that is, let us reserve it for God. For God has not willed that we should know all things in the present life."[c] Could Origen have written thus if he had entertained the opinions put forward by Bellarmine respecting Tradition, which obviously represent it as a *third Scripture?* Again,—"Wherefore, it is necessary for us to call the Sacred *Scriptures* to

[a] Ecclesiam suam demonstrent, si possunt, non in sermonibus et rumoribus Afrorum, non in conciliis episcoporum suorum, non in literis quorumlibet disputatorum, non in signis et prodigiis fallacibus, quia etiam contra ista Verbo Domini præparati et cauti redditi sumus, sed in ipsius unius Pastoris vocibus, in omnibus canonicis sanctorum librorum auctoritatibus."—(August. de Unit. Eccles. c. 16, tom. ix. 371.) This is quite in harmony with what he says in the 3rd chapter of the same treatise—"Nolo humanis documentis sed divinis oraculis sanctam ecclesiam demonstrari."

[b] Ἀλλ' οἱ πονεῖν ἕτοιμοι ἐπὶ τοῖς καλλίστοις, οὐ πρότερον ἀποστήσονται ζητοῦντες τὴν ἀληθείαν πρὶν ἂν τὴν ἀπόδειξιν ἀπ' αὐτῶν λάβωσι τῶν γραφῶν.—Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. vii. p. 889, ed. Potter.

[c] "In hoc biduo puto duo Testamenta posse intelligi, in quibus liceat omne verbum quod ad Deum pertinet requiri et discuti, atque ex ipsis omnem rerum scientiam capi. Si quid autem superfuerit, quod non Divina Scriptura decernat, nullam aliam tertiam Scripturam debere ad auctoritatem scientiæ suscipi . . . . Sed igni tradamus quod superest, id est, Deo reservemus. Neque enim in præsenti vita Deus scire nos omnia voluit.—Origen. Homil. v. in Levit. tom. ii. 212.

give evidence: for our meanings and *interpretations, without these witnesses, have no credit.*"[a]

HIPPOLYTUS the Martyr, a contemporary and friend of Origen, and a disciple of Irenæus, thus writes:—"As he who would desire to exercise the wisdom of this world cannot otherwise attain it, unless he read the dogmas of the philosophers: so, whosoever of us will exercise *piety towards God* can learn it *from no other source than from the Divine Scriptures.*"[b]

ATHANASIUS, the famous Bishop of Alexandria, in the beginning of the fourth century, expresses himself as follows:—"The holy and divinely-inspired *Scriptures are sufficient* in themselves for the enunciation of truth."[c] Again,—"These [canonical books] are the fountains of salvation, so that he who thirsts may be satisfied with the oracles contained in them; *in these alone the school of religion preaches the Gospel;* let no man add to or take from them."[d] These are the words of the man who spent his life in controversy with the Arians, and who was the great head of the Catholic party at the Œcumenical Synod of Nice. He obviously knew nothing of Traditions which were at the same time necessary to salvation and not contained in Scripture.

CYRIL, Bishop of Jerusalem, in the middle of the fourth century, after having given a summary of the doctrine concerning the Holy Spirit, says that he will now prove it in detail from Scripture:—"For," he adds, "concerning the divine and holy mysteries of the faith, *even the most casual remark ought not to be delivered without the Sacred Scriptures.* Do not implicitly believe me saying these things to you unless you receive proof of the statements from the Sacred Scriptures."[e] Again, speaking of the mode of the divine generation not being revealed in Scripture, he says:—"*Why,*

[a] Quapropter necesse nobis est Scripturas sanctas in testimonium vocare: sensus quippe nostri et enarrationes, sine his testibus, non habent fidem.—Orig. Hom. i. in Jer.

[b] Quemadmodum enim, si quis vellet sapientiam hujus sæculi exercere, non aliter hoc consequi poterit, nisi dogmata philosophorum legat; sic quicunque volumus pietatem in Deum exercere, non aliunde discemus quam ex Scripturis sacris.—Hippolyt. adv. Noetum, ch. ix.

[c] Αὐτάρκεῖς μὲν γάρ εἰσιν αἱ ἁγίαι καὶ θεόπνευστοι γραφαὶ πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπαγγελίαν.—Athanas. cont. Gentes, tom. i. ed. Bened.

[d] Ταῦτα [βιβλία] πηγαὶ τοῦ σωτηρίου, ὥστε τὸν διψῶντα ἐμφορεῖσθαι τῶν ἐν τούτοις λογίων· ἐν τούτοις μόνον τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας διδασκαλεῖον εὐαγγελίζεται· μηδεὶς τούτοις ἐπιβαλλέτω, μηδὲ τούτων ἀφαιρείσθω.—Ex Festali Epistola xxxix. tom. ii. 962.

[e] Δεῖ γάρ περὶ τῶν θείων καὶ ἁγίων τῆς πίστεως μυστηρίων μηδὲ τὸ τύχον ἄνευ τῶν θείων παραδίδοσθαι γραφῶν . . . . μηδὲ ἐμοὶ τῷ ταῦτά σοι λέγοντι ἁπλῶς πιστεύσῃς, ἐὰν τὴν ἀπόδειξιν τῶν καταγγελλομένων ἀπὸ τῶν θειῶν μὴ λάβῃς γραφῶν.—Cyril. Hierosol. Catech. iv. 17.

then, do you *busy yourself about what the Holy Spirit has not written* in the Scriptures?"[a]

BASIL the Great, Bishop of Cæsarea, and one of the most profound theologians of his age (circ. A.D. 370), thus writes:—"Believe those things that are written; the *things which are not written seek not after.*"[b] And again,—"It is *a manifest falling away from the faith,* and arrogance, either to reject anything of what is written, or *to introduce anything of what is not written.*"[c] We shall quote one passage more, as Basil is one of the authorities on whom Roman Catholic divines rely most in support of Tradition:—"Let, therefore, the inspired Scripture arbitrate between us; and *the sentence of truth* shall be *adjudged to those with whom are found doctrines consonant to the Divine oracles.*"[d] From these words it appears that, according to Basil, Scripture and Divine Oracles are one and the same thing; and that in every question their authority is supreme.

THEOPHILUS, Bishop of Alexandria, towards the close of the fourth century, believed it to be "an *instinct of the devil* to follow the sophisms of human minds, and *to think anything Divine without the authority of the Scriptures.*"[e] Roman Catholics will, of course, assent to the first clause of this sentence; but could the Tridentine Fathers, who asserted the existence of Divine traditions not contained in Scripture, fairly subscribe to the second?

GREGORY, Bishop of Nyssa, and brother of Basil, declares:—"Forasmuch *as this is supported by no testimony of Scripture, we shall reject it as false.*"[f]

CYRIL, Bishop of Alexandria, in the beginning of the fifth century, to the very same effect asks:—"*That which Holy Scripture hath not said, by what means,* pray, *shall we receive*

[a] Τί τοίνυν πολυπραγμονεῖς ἃ μηδὲ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον ἔγραψεν ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς:—Cyril. Hierosol. Catech. xi. 12.

[b] Τοῖς γεγραμμένοις πίστευε, τὰ μὴ γεγραμμένα μὴ ζήτει.—Basil. Hom. xxix. adv. Calumn. S. Trin. The Benedictine editors (tom. ii. 611) put this into the Appendix of spurious passages: but it contains nothing that cannot be paralleled from contemporary writers (*e. g.*, Cyril), and from Basil himself, as in the next extract.

[c] Φανερὰ ἔκπτωσις πίστεως καὶ ὑπερηφανίας κατηγορία ἡ ἀθετεῖν τι τῶν γεγραμμένων ἢ ἐπεισάγειν τῶν μὴ γεγραμμένων.—Basil de Fide, c. i. tom. ii. 251, ed. Bened.

[d] Ἡ θεόπνευστος ἡμῖν διαιτησάτω γραφή. Καὶ παρ' οἷς ἂν εὑρεθῇ τὰ δόγματα συνῳδὰ τοῖς θείοις λόγοις, ἐπὶ τούτοις ἤξει τῆς ἀληθείας ἡ ψῆφος.—Basil. Ep. 80, tom. ii. p. 901.

[e] Ignorans [Origenes] quod dæmoniaci spiritus esset instinctus sophismata humanarum mentium sequi, et aliquid extra Scripturarum auctoritatem putare divinum.—Theoph. Alex. Ep. Pasch. ii.

[f] Cum id nullo Scripturæ testimonio fultum sit, ut falsum improbabimus.—Lib. de Cognit. Dei, cit. ab Euthymio in Panoplia, pars i. tit. viii. n. 4.

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and reckon it among those things that are true?[a] The force of the last two passages cannot be evaded by saying that they relate to things with which Tradition had nothing to do.[b] The writers would scarcely have expressed themselves so absolutely had they been aware of the existence, in their own day, of a source of proof equally certain and authoritative with Scripture, and yet independent of it.

CHRYSOSTOM, the famous Bishop of Constantinople, towards the close of the fifth century, thus speaks of Holy Scripture: —"*Look for no other teacher; thou hast the oracles of God,* none teaches thee like these."[c] Is there any doubt here as to the sufficiency of Scripture? And again,—"*He who useth not the Scriptures,* but climbeth up some other way—that is, cutteth out for himself another and an unlawful way—he *is a thief.*"[d] Roman Catholics think it enough to reply, that Chrysostom is here speaking of antichrists and heretics. Certainly; but what he condemns them for is, not adhering solely to Scripture. Had he or they heard of the existence in the Church of Divine traditions not contained in Scripture, would he have ventured thus to apply the words "*ἀναβαίνων ἀλλαχόθεν*?" Once more,—"Wherefore, I exhort and beseech you all, *leaving aside what this man or that man thinks* concerning these things, to *learn all* these things *from the Scriptures.*"[e]

The above passages, taken from some of the most eminent writers of the first five centuries, may serve to convey a general idea of the light in which Holy Scripture, as the ultimate and sufficient basis of all essential truth, was regarded by the early Church. The ingenuity of controversialists has, in various ways, endeavoured to elude the direct force of some of those statements; but the general impression which they leave upon every unbiassed mind, no sophistry or special pleading can efface. Nor will that impression be impaired even after we have brought forward (as we shall do, when considering the Roman Catholic side of the argument) other passages from the same or different Fathers, in which the use and authority of Tradition are dwelt on. For

[a] Ὁ γάρ οὐκ εἴρηκεν ἡ θεία γραφή, τίνα δὴ τρόπον παραδεξόμεθα, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀληθῶς ἔχουσι καταλογιούμεθα;—Cyril. Alex. Glaph. in Gen. lib. ii.

[b] Perrone, Loc. Theol. pars ii. sec. ii. c. 1.

[c] Μηδὲ περιμείνῃς ἕτερον διδάσκαλον· ἔχεις τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ· οὐδείς σε διδάσκει ὡς ἐκεῖνα;—Chrysost. Hom. ix. in Ep. Coloss.

[d] Ὁ γὰρ μὴ ταῖς γραφαῖς χρώμενος, ἀλλὰ ἀναβαίνων ἀλλαχόθεν, τοντέστιν ἑτέραν ἑαυτῷ καὶ μὴ νενομισμένην τέμνων ὁδόν, κλέπτης ἐστίν.—Chrys. Hom. lix. in Joh.

[e] Διὸ παρακαλῶ καὶ δέομαι πάντων ὑμῶν, ἄφεντές τι τῷ δεῖνι καὶ τῷ δεῖνι δοκεῖ περὶ τούτων, παρὰ τῶν γραφῶν ταῦτα ἅπαντα πυνθάνεσθε.—Chrys. Hom. ix. in Coloss. cap. 3.

it will, we trust, appear perfectly obvious, *first* that the Tridentine notion of Tradition, as an authoritative source of essential truths not contained in Scripture, was utterly unknown to the ancient Church; and, *secondly*, that even with respect to *inhesive* truths (*i. e.* doctrines either expressly or implicitly contained in Scripture), the first and last appeal was made to the *written* Word, the evidence of Church Tradition being referred to either as subordinate and simply corroborative; or else in controversy with heretics, who questioned the authenticity of the orthodox Scriptures; or, finally, under other very special circumstances.

As the result of our investigation, therefore, in the words of Jeremy Taylor, we assert "that there *never yet was any Catholic Father* that did *affirm* in terms, or in full or equivalent sense, *that the Scriptures are defective* in recording anything necessary to salvation, but that they all unanimously taught to the contrary." [a]

But the chain of evidence in favour of the sufficiency of the Scriptures, the Protestant rule of faith, does not terminate with the fifth, or indeed with any, century of the Church's history. We have upon our side the testimony of some of the greatest theologians of every age. For instance, JOHANNES DAMASCENUS, the great oracle of the Eastern Church in the eighth century, thus writes:—"All things that are delivered us by the Law, the Prophets, the Apostles, and the Evangelists, we receive, acknowledge, and reverence, *seeking for nothing beyond these.*" [b] In the beginning of the fifteenth century, the famous GERSON, Chancellor of the University of Paris, and the most learned man of his time, thus expresses himself:—"In the examination of doctrines, the first and chief thing to be attended to is if the doctrine be conformable to Holy Scripture, since *Scripture* has been delivered to us, as *a sufficient and infallible rule*, for the government of the whole ecclesiastical body and its members, to the end of the world. It is, therefore, such an art, such a rule or exemplar, that *any* other *doctrine which is not conformable to it* is either to be *rejected as heretical*, or is to be accounted altogether suspicious, or not appertaining to religion." [c] This is precisely the doctrine of the Church of England in her sixth article.

[a] Jeremy Taylor's "Dissuasive," p. 192, Oxford ed., 1836.

[b] Πάντα τὰ παραδεδαμένα ἡμῖν διά τε νόμου καὶ προφητῶν καὶ ἀποστόλων καὶ εὐαγγελίστων, δεχόμεθα, καὶ γινώσκομεν, καὶ σέβομεν, οὐδὲν περαιτέρω τούτων ἐπιζητοῦντες.—Joh. Damasc. de Orthod. Fide, c. i.

[c] Attendendum in examinatione doctrinarum, primo et principaliter, si doctrina sit conformis Scripturæ . . . . . quoniam Scriptura nobis tradita est tanquam regula sufficiens et infallibilis, pro regimine totius ecclesiastici

Nay, more, it is an unquestionable fact, that in the Council of Trent itself, the opinions of the prelates were not unanimous respecting the famous decree, so often referred to, which placed Tradition on an equality with Scripture. The Bishops of Fano and Chioggia especially protested against this decree: and the latter went so far as to exclaim that it was impious to elevate Tradition to the level of Scripture.[a] Even in that very assembly, whose avowed object was to condemn the so-called heresies of the Reformers, there were found men honest and bold enough to proclaim and defend what had been the unquestioned doctrine of the Catholic Church during many ages, and had never ceased to be held by many of its greatest ornaments. Roman Catholics, and even Protestants themselves, seem to take it for granted, as a matter of course, that the decrees of the Council of Trent were passed with the full concurrence of all its members, and and that the characteristic dogmas of the modern Church of Rome were then regarded as established verities, which only needed the authority of the Church to sanction them as essential to salvation. The fact, however, is far otherwise: many of those dogmas were then open questions, about which great diversity of opinion existed. But as any appearance of such diversity, in the formal definitions of the Council, would have furnished the "heretics" with a powerful argument against what they maintained to be innovations on the doctrines of the Primitive Church, it was arranged that, before each session, general "Congregations" should be held, in which the decrees to be proposed should be discussed, and the opinions of the prelates taken upon them; it being

corporis et membrorum, usque in finem sæculi. Est igitur talis ars, talis regula vel exemplar, cui se non conformans alia doctrina vel abjicienda est ut hæreticalis, aut suspecta, aut impertinens ad religionem prorsus est habenda. —Gerson, de Exam. Doctr. pars ii. con. 1.

[a] "This equality [sc. of Scripture and Tradition] was not approved of by some, and especially by Bertano (Bishop of Fano). For, he argued, although both might proceed from God, from whom all truths are ultimately derived, yet it did not follow that everything true should be regarded with the same veneration as the Sacred Scriptures. That, inasmuch as some traditions had failed, it was obvious that God was unwilling that so much stability, and, consequently, so much veneration, should be attributed to them as to Scripture. Nachianti, Bishop of Chioggia, inveighed still more bitterly against an equality of this kind, traditions being considered by him not as Divine revelations but as [human] laws, the weight of which he deemed insupportable. He exclaimed, when the question of their universal adoption was proposed, that that equality between the Sacred Writings and Traditions appeared to him impious."—(Pallavicino, Istoria del Concil. di Trento, lib. vi. cap. 3, 4.) The other bishops, more true to the principles of their Church, heard this protest, we are told, with wonder and horror; and, accordingly, he who dared to vindicate the supreme authority of Holy Scripture, was compelled to acquiesce in the decree which directly denied it.

understood that whatever was decided upon by the majority, in those preliminary meetings, should be passed in the following session with the unanimous consent of the Council, the dissentient minority tacitly acquiescing in the previous decision.[a] Such was the mode in which Tradition was placed upon a level with the written Word of God by the *unanimous* consent of the Catholic Church, as represented by the "Sacred Œcumenical Synod of Trent."

No. VIII.

THE RULE OF FAITH.

Tradition; or, the Roman Rule of Faith.

We have seen that Dr. Milner has stated the Romish rule of Faith to be "the whole word of God, both written and unwritten, in other words, Scripture and Tradition, and these propounded and explained by the Catholic Church."—(Letter x. p. 125.)

No Protestant would ever reject the "unwritten word of God" wherever it can be heard or found. But who is to vouch for it? The meaning, however, which is attached to this definition is, that as a "Rule of Faith," the *written word* of God is insufficient, and that oral "Tradition" is equally part of the Christian's rule. What is this but to admit that there are doctrines taught by the Church of Rome, which she declares necessary to be believed for our salvation, but which are not in the *written* Word, but are founded on "Tradition?" We cannot admit into this discussion questions of *discipline* and *forms*, but matters of faith *alone*.

[a] "The 8th of February, Cardinal del Monte [afterwards Pope Julius III.] held a congregation, wherein he desired the Fathers of the Council to remember the prayer he had formerly made to them, not to give their opinions anew in the sessions upon the decrees that were published there; since, those decrees having been passed in the congregations by a majority of voices, this would only serve, as he had formerly told them, to *give the heretics an occasion of talking*, when they should see that *the decrees that were published in the sessions were contradicted by the Fathers of the Council themselves.*"—(Du Pin, Eccles. Hist. 16th Cent. vol. iii. lib. iii. ch. 1.) In the discussions which took place in the subsequent congregations respecting the four articles that were extracted from Luther's writings, Antonio Marinari, a Carmelite, with reference to the first of these articles expressed himself of opinion that Traditions should not be spoken of at all, and that "it would be better to imitate the ancient Fathers, who had always made use of Scripture alone, except in cases of necessity, without ever daring to put Tradition in competition with it."—(P. Sarpi, Hist. du Conc. de Trente, liv. ii. ch. 46, edit. Courayer.) Cardinal Pallavicino attempts to throw discredit on this statement of Sarpi, but there seems to be no just ground for calling it in question.

Dr. Milner proposes to prove that the Scriptures are insufficient; and that we require the assistance of *oral* "Tradition." In support of this position he appeals to the testimony of the Fathers. These we will examine; but we here repeat that neither Dr. Milner nor any other Roman controversialist has been able to produce one single direct assertion from any early Christian writer which declares the insufficiency of the Scriptures as a "Rule of Faith," and the necessity of "Tradition" to make up any supposed deficiency in this respect; while, on the other hand, we have adduced "line upon line" from these writers directly asserting and maintaining the sufficiency of the *written Word* as the Christian's sole "Rule of Faith." This is an intelligible issue.

We will now take up each of Dr. Milner's references separately, and shall then be able to examine their value in establishing his position:—

"I begin," says Dr. Milner, "with the disciple of the Apostles, St. Ignatius of Antioch. It is recorded of him that, in his passage to Rome, where he was sentenced to be devoured by wild beasts, he exhorted the Christians who got access to him, 'to guard themselves against the rising heresies, and to adhere, with the utmost firmness, to the tradition of the Apostles.'" The reference is "Euseb. Hist. l. iii. c. 30." This "30" should be 36; but that is of little moment with Dr. Milner.

The passage from *Ignatius* is as follows:[a]—"He [Ignatius] exhorted them to hold firmly by the tradition of the Apostles, which, confirmed *by his own testimony for the sake of security, he judged it necessary to* commit *to writing*." Eusebius goes on, in immediate continuation, "Arriving, therefore, at Smyrna, where Polycarp lived, he writes one epistle to the Church at Ephesus," &c.,[b] and which we now possess. So that, agreeably to Ignatius, "the tradition of the Apostles," to which he exhorted the Asiatic Churches to adhere, is contained in the epistles, which he himself composed. But in making the quotation, Dr. Milner stops short at "the Traditions of the Apostles!" To Ignatius's own letters, therefore, recourse must be had, if we are desirous of learning what, according to the martyr-bishop of Antioch, is "the Tradition of the Apostles;" and here we in vain search for any of the Roman Traditions Apostolic, so called.

A learned professor, and editor of the writings of Ignatius, Vedelius, argues that nothing that this early Christian writer

[a] We should here observe that we follow the invaluable work "Pope's Roman Misquotations," p. 253, et seq. London, 1840.

[b] Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. iii. c. 36, curâ Vales. p. 106. Paris, 1659.

has recorded is other than what the Apostles themselves have put in writing: "It is not possible," he says, "to discover any apostolical tradition in the epistles of Ignatius (I mean in those which are genuine, and not spurious), which is not found in the writings of the Apostles, either in as many words, or at least in the same sense, and by necessary consequence."[a]

In this place it may not be without advantage to offer some remarks on the terms παράδοσις and *traditio*. Wherever these words occur, a member of the Church of Rome at once concludes, that they refer to some channel by which truth is handed down, *beside* the volume of Inspiration. But this is mere gratuitous assumption. The term παράδοσις is sometimes, observes Suicer, identical with the written Word, and signifies the Holy Scriptures themselves. For example, in Gregory of Nyssa:[b]—

"The Divine Books truly abound with instruction of this nature" (namely, as to the path which terminates in glory); "and many of the saints exhibit, as a lamp, their walk and conversation to those who live in conformity with the will of God. But it is in every one's power to gather, in rich copiousness, from both the Testaments of the divinely-inspired Scripture, the precepts which relate to this proposed end. For many may be collected, and that abundantly, in the Prophets and the Law, and many in the Evangelical and Apostolical Traditions [ἀποστολικαῖς παραδόσεσι]."

On this passage Suicer remarks: "What can be more evident? That which Gregory had before called 'both Testaments,' he afterwards describes as 'the Prophets and the Law,' also 'the Evangelical and Apostolical Traditions;' from whence even the blindest may perceive, that the written Word is designated by the Nyssene father, *tradition*."

The same profound scholar quotes another example from Gregory of Nyssa:[c]—

"We believe both from the common opinion and from the *tradition* [παραδόσεως] of the Scriptures," that there are unclean spirits.[d]

Suicer gives examples of the like use of the word παράδοσις, by other Greek fathers.

To these may be added the following passage from the V. Cat. of Cyril of Jerusalem:[e]—"But take thou and hold

[a] Ignat. *quæ extant Omnia*, curâ Vedelii. Genev. 1623. Apol. cap. ii.
[b] De Virginitate, cap. xi. tom. iii. p. 147, Bened. edit.
[c] De Anima et Resurrectione, tom. iii. p. 212.
[d] Greg. Nyssen. cap. xi. de Virginitate, tom. iii. p. 147.
[e] This translation is taken from "A Library of Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church," vol. ii. pp. 57, 58. Oxford, 1838.

that faith as a learner and in profession, which is by the Church delivered to thee, and is established from all Scripture. For since all cannot read the Scripture, but some, as being unlearned, others by business, are hindered from the knowledge of them; in order that the soul may not perish for lack of instruction, in the Articles which are few, we comprehend the whole doctrine of the Faith. This I wish you to remember in the very phrase, and to rehearse it with all diligence among yourselves, not writing it on paper,[a] but by memory graving it on your heart as on a monument: being watchful during your exercise, lest haply some of the Catechumens overhear the things delivered to you.[b] This I wish you to keep all through your life as a provision for the way, and besides this to receive no other for ever: whether we ourselves should change and contradict what we now teach; or some opposing angel, transformed into an angel of light, should aim at leading you astray (2 Cor. xi. 14): For, though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other Gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed (Gal. i. 8, 9). And for the present, commit to memory the Faith, merely listening to the words; and expect at the fitting season the proof of each of its parts from the Divine Scriptures. For the Articles of the Faith were not composed at the good pleasure of men: but the most important points chosen from all Scripture, make up the one teaching of the Faith. And as the mustard-seed in a little grain contains many branches, thus also this Faith, in a few words, hath enfolded in its bosom the whole knowledge of godliness contained both in the Old and New Testaments. Behold, therefore, brethren, and *hold the traditions* which ye now receive, and *write them on the table of your hearts* (2 Thess. ii. 15; Prov. vii. 3)."[c]

"Here Cyril," observes the Benedictine editor, "enunciates the Creed, which is given on a subsequent page."[d] The Creed adverted to is a little shorter than the Nicene profession of

[a] The Bened. Editor of Cyril assigns as a reason which prompted this command—an unwillingness that the symbol of faith should fall into the hands of unbelievers:—"Norunt omnes severe cautum fuisse à Patribus, ne symbolum chartis mandaretur, atque ita in infidelium manus deveniret."—Bened. in loc.

[b] Cyril in his Procat. num. 12, had before admonished the *Illuminandi*, that they should not repeat to the Catechumens any part of the matter which they were about to hear in the Catecheses:—"Jam superiùs monuerat Procat. num. 12, &c., ne quidquam Catechumenis repeterent de his quæ in Catechesibus audituri essent, &c."—Bened. in loc.

[c] Cyril. Hieros. Opera, Bened. Paris, 1720. Cat. V. sec. xii. pp. 77-8. Oxon. 1703. Cat. V. sec. vii. pp. 75-6.

[d] Illic Cyrillus tradit symbolum, quod habetur infrà, pag. 84.—Marg. Annot. ap. Ben. in loc.

faith; but accurately agrees with it. By *traditions*, therefore, it is evident that Cyril means the doctrines specified in the Creed he alludes to; which is "made up" of "the most important points chosen from all Scripture,"—to use the language of our author.[a]

Suicer also furnishes examples of *traditio* being used as "identical with the written word."—"The word *traditio*," he remarks, "is employed by Cyprian in this very sense: one or two instances taken from his works will suffice. When Stephen had observed, '*Let no new practice be introduced, except that which has been handed down,*' Cyprian (Ep. lxxiv. ad Pompejum) thus writes: '*From whence is that tradition? Whether has it come down from the authority of the Lord and the Gospels, or from the commands and letters of the Apostles? For that those things which are written, are to be done, God testifies, and sets before Joshua,* saying: The book of this law shall not depart out of thy mouth; but thou shalt meditate therein day and night, that thou mayest observe to do all things which are written therein' (Josh. chap. i. 8). Presently Cyprian remarks: '*If, therefore, it is either commanded in the Gospels, or contained in the Epistles or Acts,—that those abandoning heresy should not be baptized, but that hands should merely be laid on them in order to penitential discipline, let this divine and holy tradition be observed.*' Thus, in the same Epistle: '*If truth shall in any respect be uncertain and fail, let us return to the fountain-head which is from the Lord, to the Gospels* (ad originam Dominicam et Evangelicam), *and to Apostolical tradition.*[b] And a few lines after, he calls it *the sacrament of Divine tradition.*'"

On these passages, Suicer remarks: "According, therefore, to Cyprian, tradition is twofold: that of the Lord, and that of the Apostles;—of these, the former is transmitted in the Gospels; the latter is revealed in the Epistles."

[a] "By *traditions*," says Milles, "the Fathers often mean nothing else (as Cyril in this passage) than the doctrine of Faith, handed down by the Prophets and Apostles in the Old and New Testaments." Milles, having cited the extract from Greg. Nyss. (De Anim. et Resurrect.) already given, quotes another example of the similar use of παράδοσις. "Cyril of Alexandria, on the lxvi. chapter of Isaiah, calls the doctrine of the Gospel παράδοσιν, a *tradition*. 'He wishes them to be mild and patient according to the Evangelical traditions.'"

Per παραδόσεις sæpe intelligunt Patres, uti hoc loco *Cyrillus*, nihil aliud quam doctrinam Fidei à Prophetis et Apostolis in Veteri Novoque Testamento posteris traditam. * * * * Et *Cyrillus Alexandrinus* in caput lxvi. *Esaiæ*, Evangelii doctrinam vocat παράδοσιν. Πραοὺς αὐτοὺς βούλεται, καὶ ἀνεξικάκους εἶναι, κατά γε τὰς εὐαγγελικὰς παραδόσεις. *Vult eos mites, et malorum tolerantes esse, juxta traditiones Evangelicas.*—*Not.* apud Oxon. edit. (1703) in loc.

[b] Edit. cur. Pamel. p. 195.

The preceding quotations clearly establish that the words παράδοσις and *traditio*, in the writings of the Fathers, do not necessarily mean oral Tradition, or allude to other dogmas *beside* those contained in the Inspired Volume; but that they are not unfrequently employed, either as synonymous with the Bible itself, or in reference to truths made known therein.

To return to Dr. Milner. He continues: "The same sentiment appears in the epistles of his [Ignatius's] fellow-martyr, St. Polycarp, the angel of the Church of Smyrna, Rev. ii. 8." Here neither passage nor reference is given. Polycarp suffered martyrdom by fire, at a very advanced age, in Smyrna, about 130 years after our Saviour's death, and only *one* epistle from his pen has survived; it is addressed to the Philippians. Not only does the "the same sentiment" *not* appear in this eminent martyr's epistle, but throughout the whole of it the word "Tradition" does not appear. So much, then, for the testimony of this "holy bishop."

Irenæus, we are told by Dr. Milner, "abounds with testimonies to the present purpose:"—"Nothing is more easy to those who seek for the truth, than to remark, in every Church *the tradition* which the Apostles have manifested to all the world. We can name the bishops appointed by the Apostles in the several churches, and the successors of those bishops down to our own time [A.D. 180], none of whom ever taught or heard of such doctrines as these heretics dream of.—(Adv. Hæret. lib. iii. c. 5.)" Now since Irenæus appealed, as we shall presently see, to the fulness and sufficiency of the written Scriptures, and bearing in mind what we have already observed in the use of the word "tradition," we have not the slightest hesitation in asserting that Irenæus never referred to any other "tradition which the Apostles have manifested," except as shown forth in their writings.[a] The Church of Rome preserved traditions, but not such as are *now* observed in that Church. They might have preserved them incorrupt to the days of Irenæus, who was "vir apostolicorum temporum." Rome was then famous for her faith (Rom. i. 8); but "*Quantum mutatus ab illo Hectore, qui quondam!*"

Again: we are told that "this holy Father emphatically affirms that 'In explaining the Scriptures, Christians are to attend to the *pastors of the Church*, who, by the ordinance of

[a] Ubicumque Pontificii inveniunt vocabulum *Traditiones*, illud mox detorquent ad *suas* traditiones, quæ ex Scriptura probari non possunt, ut cum Paulus dicit (1 Cor. xv.), *Tradidi vobis, &c.*, Hic statim exclamant, Audis traditiones? Audio, sed mox in eodem loco lego, Paulum *scripto* explicare quæ sunt illa quæ tradiderit, &c.—Chemnitz, Examen Conc. Trid. pars i. p. 110, edit. 1606.

God, have *received the inheritance of truth*, with the succession of their sees.'—(Lib. iv. c. 43.)" Well! what then? The question at issue is not as to the "explaining the Scriptures," by the "pastors of the Church," but whether these pastors, who "had received the inheritance of truth," declared the insufficiency of the Scriptures as the sole "rule of faith," and the absolute necessity of oral "tradition" to make up the short-comings of the Scriptures. As we do attend to the "*pastors of our Church*," and do believe that "*they have received the inheritance of truth*" through the WRITTEN WORD, we cannot exactly see how this passage is a lesson to us. But in immediate connection with this passage Dr. Milner adds another:—"The tongues (Irenæus adds) of nations vary, but the virtue *of tradition is everywhere* one and the same; nor do the Churches believe or teach differently from those in Spain, Gaul, the East, Egypt, or Libya;" and the reference given is "L. i. c. 3." It is strange indeed that Dr. Milner should select the very passage, of all others, which we were about to quote against him to refute his argument.* But in quoting this passage we did not intend to restrict ourselves to the few lines selected by Dr. Milner, but to give the whole context, which we now venture to do. From this it will be seen that Irenæus particularly defines what this universal tradition is; and having thus fixed it, he emphatically adds (sect. 2) that "neither will he who is strong in speech enlarge it, nor will he who is weak in speech diminish it. For this faith being one, neither has he who can say much respecting it amplified it, nor has he who can say little curtailed it." When the reader has perused the entire passage, he will have no difficulty in declaring that Irenæus, in the passage above cited by Dr. Milner, from the 4th book, c. 43, means by the "inheritance of truth" received by the "pastors of the Church," the *truths* exclusively derived and taught in the *written Word* only.

Irenæus, in the passage in question, writes:—

"For the Church, although she is extended throughout the universe, even to the ends of the earth, received the faith from the Apostles and their disciples, which faith is in one God, the Father Almighty, who made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and all things which are in them; and in one Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who was incarnate for our salvation; and in the Holy Spirit, who predicted the dispensations of God

* We were misled by his reference. The passage will not, in all the editions, be found in the third chapter, which vary in the divisions. Dr. Milner follows the numbering of Grabe's edition; but in the Benedictine, printed at Paris, 1710, it ranks as cap. 10.

by the prophets, and the advent, and the generation from the Virgin, and the passion, and the resurrection from the dead, and the ascent in the flesh into heaven of Jesus Christ our beloved Lord, and His coming from heaven in the glory of the Father, to resume all things, and to raise the flesh of all mankind; so that, according to the good pleasure of the invisible Father, every knee, of things in heaven, and things on earth, and things under the earth, should bow to Jesus Christ our Lord, and God, and Saviour, and King, and every tongue should confess Him, and that He should judge all things in righteousness, and that He should consign to eternal fire the spiritual things of iniquity, and angels that have transgressed and apostatized, and the impious and unjust, and the blasphemers among men; and granting, on the other hand, life and immortality and eternal glory to the just and righteous, and to those who keep his commandments and persevere in his love, some from the beginning, others after repentance.

"2. And the Church, albeit she is scattered throughout the whole world, having received this preaching and this faith, diligently keeps it as if she inhabited one house; and in like manner she believes in these things as having one soul and one heart, and she uniformly teaches them and hands them down as having one mouth. For although there are various languages in the world, yet the strength of tradition is one and the same. And neither do the churches that are founded in Germany believe or hand down otherwise; nor do the churches which are in Spain, or in Gaul, or in the East, or in Egypt, or in Libya, or those which are established in the middle of the world. But as the sun, the creation of God, is one and the same in the whole world, so also the light, which is the preaching of truth, everywhere shines and enlightens all men, who will come to the knowledge of the truth. And neither will he who is strong in speech enlarge it (for no one is above his master), nor will he who is weak in speech diminish it. For this faith being one, neither has he who can say much respecting it amplified it, nor has he who can say little curtailed it." [a]

This passage needs no further remark than the observation, that the word παραδόσεως, used by Irenæus, exactly agrees with the explanation we have above given of the import of the word as not unfrequently used by the early Christian writers.

The next passage is given as follows, also as from Irenæus:

[a] Irenæus's "First Book against Heresies," ch. x. p. 50. Bened. edit., Paris, 1710.

—"Since it would be tedious to enumerate the succession of all the churches, we appeal to the faith and tradition of the greatest, most ancient, and best known Church, that of Rome, founded by the Apostles SS. Peter and Paul; for with this Church all others agree, inasmuch as in her is preserved the tradition which comes down from the Apostles." The reference is "Lib. iii. c. 2."

It must be remembered that Irenæus wrote at the latter end of the second century. He was born about A.D. 140, and suffered martyrdom in the year 202. The passage in question appears in the 3rd chapter, and not in the 2nd, in both Grabe's and Massuet's editions. It thus commences:—"The tradition of the Apostles, manifested throughout the whole world, may be seen in every church by all who wish to hear the truth." Now, here is a remarkable similarity to the sentiment enunciated in the former passage quoted, wherein he specifies these traditions universally received by all the churches, which no one dared to amplify or curtail, which was not a code of *unwritten doctrines*, supposed to be in the keeping of the pastors of the Church, and having the same divine authority as the written Word; but this "Tradition of the Apostles" was contained in, and rested on, that *written Word*. He then proceeds to say, that they "could reckon up both those who by the Apostles were appointed bishops in the churches, and their successors, down even to his own time.—But," he continues, "since, in such a volume as this, it would occupy too much space to enumerate the successions of *all* the churches, we shall confound all those persons who, from whatever bad motive, make their inferences differently from what they ought, simply indicating that Apostolic tradition and that declared faith of the greatest and most ancient and universally known Church, founded at Rome by the two most glorious Apostles Peter and Paul, which has come down even to us, through the succession of her bishops." Now, was the faith of the Church of Rome at that day such as required an alleged unwritten tradition—say, if you will, "Apostolical Tradition"—independent of, and of equal authority to, the *written Word*, to support the truth or orthodoxy of her doctrines? We challenge proof of this; let the reader run over the several doctrines set out by Irenæus, and which he declared to be "the faith received from the Apostles," and the "tradition" universally received, and which was not to be added to, or diminished from, and he will deduce from the language of Irenæus, that the *faith* of the Roman Church was founded on the tradition of the Apostles, derived from the written Word alone, since by the

written Word alone we are instructed in all those "*traditions*" enumerated by Irenæus.

But Dr. Milner quotes, or rather misquotes, this passage for the additional purpose of thrusting prominently forward the Church of Rome; and, in order to give that church the pre-eminence, he drops an important sentence; the passage proceeds: "For to this church, on account of the more potent principality (*propter potentiorem principalitatem*), it is necessary that every church should resort, that is to say, those faithful individuals who are on every side of it,[a] in which the tradition descending from the Apostles, has always been preserved by those around it."

Here we may remark, that the Church of Rome, relying on her "tradition," does not now hold the same belief as did the Church in the time of Irenæus. The latter declared that the adjoining faithful individuals on every side of the Church at Rome, should resort to that church "on account of its more potent principality;" whereas the former claims authority for her by direct "divine" appointment, as successor of St. Peter, the alleged first Bishop of Rome. On this latter tradition, again, the passage referred to by Dr. Milner, strange enough, throws some further light, showing that the *tradition* now held varies from that recorded by Irenæus. Dr. Milner repeatedly calls Peter the first Bishop of Rome,[b] whereas Irenæus continues to say, "The blessed Apostles (viz., Peter *and* Paul), then founding and building up that church, delivered to *Linus* the episcopate of administering it;" and he then enumerates the succession of the Bishops of Rome up to his day, twelve in number, counting from Linus inclusively. According to the *tradition*, therefore, of the Church in his day, Peter was not the first Bishop of Rome; but he and Paul together appointed Linus as the first Bishop of that see. That there should be no misunderstanding, we add in a note the entire passage from Irenæus.[c]

[a] The word here used is "*undique*," that is, those who were dependent on this Metropolitan Mother Church. Each bishop of a Metropolitan Church had a separate and independent jurisdiction, and this independent authority was confirmed by the Sixth Canon of the First Council of Nice held many years after, namely, A.D. 345.

[b] Letters xlvi. pp. 437—440, and xxviii. p. 284.

[c] Traditionem itaque Apostolorum, in toto mundo manifestatum, adest perspicere omnibus, qui vera velint audire: et habemus annumerare eos, qui ab Apostolis instituti sunt Episcopi in Ecclesiis, et successores eorum usque ad nos. Sed quoniam valde longum est, in hoc tali volumine, omnium Ecclesiarum enumerare successiones; maximæ et antiquissimæ et omnibus cognitæ a gloriosissimis duobus Apostolis Petro et Paulo Romæ fundatæ et constitutæ Ecclesiæ, eam quam habet ab Apostolis traditionem et annunciatam hominibus fidem, per successiones Episcoporum pervenientem usque ad nos,—indicantes, confundimus omnes eos, qui, quoquo modo, vel per sui placentium malam vel

It is further to be observed, that while Dr. Milner is producing this passage as illustrating the value (to put the easiest construction on his motives) of oral "Tradition," in contradistinction to the written Word, he is affording the strongest argument against its adoption as a "Rule of Faith." The doctor upholds the theory that Peter was the first bishop of Rome; on which point not only is Irenæus wholly silent, but is by implication of a contrary opinion. But Dr. Milner agrees with Irenæus in the statement that the episcopate was delivered directly to Linus, as the first bishop, but is silent on the co-operation of *Paul*. Dr. Milner's words are: "He [Peter] afterwards removed his own See to Rome, the capital of Europe and the world. Here, having with Paul, sealed the Gospel with his blood, he [Peter] transmitted his prerogative to St. Linus, from which it descended in succession to St. Cletus and St. Clement;"[a] thus making Linus succeed to the episcopate *after the death* of Peter; *Cletus* then succeeded in the second, and Clement in the third place. That is one Tradition. Another Tradition, recorded in what is called the "Apostolic Constitutions," informs us that "Linus was the *first* ordained bishop of the Roman Church by *Paul*, but Clement *after* the death of Linus, by Peter in the *second* place;"[b] and Tertullian also declares that Clement was ordained by Peter.[c]

Here then Tradition is at fault on one, to Rome at least, of the most important of her tenets. How idle then is it for Dr. Milner to strive to place his "Traditions" on a level with Scripture, and call Irenæus to support his assertion?

Dr. Milner keeps, however, what he considers the most "crushing" sentence from Irenæus for his last quotation, giving it in most legible type as follows:—"SUPPOSING THE APOSTLES HAD NOT LEFT US THE SCRIPTURES, OUGHT WE NOT

vanam gloriam, vel per cæcitatem et malam sententiam, præterquam oportet colligunt. Ad hanc enim Ecclesiam, propter potentiorem principalitatem, necesse est omnem convenire Ecclesiam; hoc est, eos qui sunt undique fideles: in qua semper, ab his qui sunt undique, conservata est ea quæ est ab Apostolis traditio. Fundantes, igitur, et instruentes, beati Apostoli, Ecclesiam, Lino Episcopatum administrandæ Ecclesiæ tradiderunt.—Succedit autem ei Anacletus: post eum, tertio loco ab Apostolis, Episcopatum sortitur Clemens.—Huic autem Clementi succedit Euaristus: et Euaristo Alexander. Ac deinceps, sextus ab Apostolis, constitutus est Sixtus: et ab hoc, Telesphorus: ac deinceps, Hyginus: post, Pius: post quem, Anicetus. Cum autem successisset Aniceto Soter: nunc duodecimo loco, Episcopatum, ab Apostolis, habet Eleutherius.—Irenæ adv. Hær. lib. iii. c. 3.

[a] Letter xxviii. p. 284.

[b] Τῆς δὲ Ῥωμαίων Ἐκκλησίας, Λῖνος μὲν ὁ Κλαυδίας πρῶτος ὑπὸ Παύλου, Κλήμης δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Λίνου θάνατον ὑπ' ἐμοῦ Πέτρου δεύτερος κεχειροτόνηται.—Const. Apost. lib. vii. c. 46, in Le Clerc's Patres Apost. tom. i. Edit. Amst. 1724.

[c] De Præscript. adv. Hæret. cap. 36, p. 216. Paris, 1675.

STILL TO HAVE FOLLOWED THE ORDINANCE OF TRADITION, which they consigned to those to whom they committed the Churches? It is this ordinance of *tradition* which many nations of barbarians, believing in Christ, follow without the use of letters or ink." The reference given is "L. iv. c. 64," being a false one, as will shortly appear.

Here, again, for the better understanding of the author quoted, we will give a literal translation of his own words, such at least as are handed down to us, and we place the text itself in a foot-note :[a]—

"If it had so happened that the Apostles had left us no Scriptures, must we not then have followed the order of tradition, which they committed to those with whom they intrusted the Churches? To this course many nations of illiterate barbarians, who believe in Christ, do assent, having salvation written in their hearts by the Holy Spirit, without writing or ink, and thus preserving the ancient tradition, believing in one God, the Maker of heaven and earth," &c.

And this passage is quoted to prove that the primitive Church recognized an authority, "unwritten tradition," as well as the written Word; that oral instruction is amply sufficient for the laity; and that, in point of obligation, the written Word need not be communicated to them by the priesthood. To ourselves the passage appears decidedly to establish the contrary. For doubtless, as Irenæus remarks, *if* it had so happened that the Apostles had left us *no* written Scriptures, we should *then* have been necessitated, like believers in the patriarchal ages, to follow the order of tradition, either purely oral, or some other sufficiently recognized authority. But through the good providence of God, the Apostles *have* left us the Scriptures. Therefore, by intrusting us with them, they have practically demonstrated to us the insufficiency and insecurity of tradition; for had oral tradition from age to age been *sufficient*, the written Word would have been *superfluous*, and would not have been given. But it is insinuated that Irenæus, in the case of the barbarians, speaks of oral tradition in terms of approbation; be it so. It was only *if* they had no copies of the Scripture, or could not read. But was the oral Tradition commended by him the *same*, or the tenets the same, as advocated by

[a] Quid autem, si neque Apostoli quidem scripturas reliquissent nobis, nonne oportebat ordinem sequi traditionis, quam tradiderunt iis quibus committebant ecclesias? Cui ordinationi assentiunt multæ gentes barbarorum, eorum qui in Christum credunt, sine charactere et atramento scriptam habentes per Spiritum in cordibus suis salutem, et veterem traditionem diligenter custodientes, in unum Deum credentes, Fabricatorem cœli et terræ, &c.—Irenæus adv. Hær. lib. iii. cap. iv. p. 172, fol. Edit. Basil., 1570.

Dr. Milner, such as that which the Council of Trent placed upon an equal footing with Scripture? Nothing of the kind. What can be found instructing them in Purgatory, prayers to saints and angels, St. Peter's supremacy, indulgences, &c.? The tradition commended by Irenæus was simply an oral catechumenical communication of such truths as those contained *in* the written Word, the Articles of their Faith or creed; for of such only he especially speaks:—"In unum Deum credentes, Fabricatorem cœli et terræ;" whereas that enforced by the Council of *Trent* sets forth sundry matters, *not only not contained* in the Bible, but directly contrary to it.[a]

Such, then, is the evidence adduced by Dr. Milner from Irenæus on one side of the question, but he has wholly omitted to notice the passages we have before quoted in a former article (p. 42, *suprà*), which to all candid readers must decide the question against Dr. Milner's one-sided views.

Tertullian is the next valuable witness quoted, and the manner in which he handles this venerable writer might well astonish the Rev. Mr. Jackson in his review of the passages selected by Dr. Milner. "I must confess," he says, "that I do not understand Dr. Milner." After reading the passages cited by him,[b] and comparing them with the original, we are utterly at a loss in what terms to describe his procedure. The only supposition which we can make, consistent with his good faith, is this—that he found the passages, as he has given them, in some Romish selection of Tertullian's sayings, and that he was wholly ignorant of their connection and import, as they stand in the original. To us it appears incredible, that any intelligent man, moderately skilled in the Latin language, *with a copy of Tertullian before him*, should with honesty of intention have so misrepresented the drift of that Father's reasoning, as Dr. Milner has taken the liberty of doing.

It is impossible, in any short compass, to convey an adequate notion of the extent to which misrepresentation has been here carried. We must confine ourselves to a few leading points; but we entreat the reader to consult the De Præscript. Hæret. for himself, that he may learn to appreciate the accuracy of Dr. Milner, in describing the opinions of the Fathers.

The passages alluded to, which are of considerable length,

[a] Elliott's "Delineation," &c., p. 45. London, 1851.

[b] We now quote from Mr. Jackson's work, "The Two Main Questions in Controversy between the Churches of England and Rome," p. 172. Dublin, 1825.

LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

are given in Letter x. pp. 132-3, as two distinct portions of Tertullian's work. The reference to the first is thus marked:—"Præscrip. advers. Hæres. edit. Rhenan, pp. 36, 37;" the reference to the second, "Ibid. 36, 37."—"pp. 36, 37," is manifestly a misprint for cap. or sect. 36, 37. The treatise itself is also miscalled.[a] But, instead of the two extracts being found in chapters 36, 37, or in any other chapters of the De Præscript. Hæret. *in the consecutive form* in which Dr. Milner has chosen to exhibit them, the reader will be surprised to learn, that they are ingenious pieces of patch-work, made up of detached sentences forcibly torn from their context, out of no less than seven different chapters, some of them pretty distant from each other; namely, out of ch. 15, 16, 19, 31, 32, 36, 37. The rendering is as unfaithful as this dislocation is unwarrantable; and the sentences are so artfully dovetailed into each other, as to present the appearance of a connected set of propositions which produce a conclusion at perfect variance with the general bearing of Tertullian's argument. That argument is similar to the line adopted by Irenæus; whose work Adv. Hæres. it is manifest Tertullian made use of in the composition of his own. The adversaries of both these Fathers held much in common, whilst they equally rejected the *genuine* Scriptures, either wholly, or in part; and appealed to the pretended *secret* Traditions of their own sects, in opposition to the Traditions of the Apostolic Churches, which were in that age consentient with Scripture on the points in question. The heretics in Tertullian's day, as appears from cap. 22 and 25 of the De Præscript. Hæret., accounted for these traditive doctrines, by which they had corrupted the simplicity of the Christian faith, being unknown to the Universal Church, by supposing that all truth had either not been revealed to the Apostles themselves, or had not been communicated by them to Christians in general.[b] In addition to these silly and even impious pretences, these heretics, it seems, made *a show of appealing to the written word*, thus improving upon the adversaries of Irenæus, who rejected the Scriptures altogether. But *to what kind of writings* they appealed as the inspired Word is the main question: on the answer to it, the whole force of

[a] It deserves to be remarked, once for all, that the references throughout Dr. Milner's work are so vague and inaccurate, as to be nearly useless to the reader.

[b] Solent dicere [hæretici] non omnia Apostolos scisse, eâdem dementiâ quâ rursus convertunt, omnia quidem Apostolos scisse, sed non omnia omnibus tradidisse; in utroque Christum reprehensioni subjicientes, qui aut minus instructos, aut parum simplices Apostolos miserit.—De Præscript. Hæret. cap. 22.

the quotation depends, as far as it is applicable to the principles of Protestants. That answer will be soon furnished: meanwhile, let us follow Tertullian step by step. "Sed *ipsi* de Scripturis agunt, et de Scripturis suadent!" The *ipsi* is emphatical, and implies a contradiction between their real principles, and their affected appeal to Scripture as a test which could be consistently resorted to by the orthodox alone, and which was in fact *their* standard of opinion. It is as if Tertullian had said, these very heretics feel, that in order to give a specious colour to their tenets, the Scriptures must not be wholly disregarded. *Ipsi* de Scripturis agunt, &c.—"They, as well as we, appeal to the Scriptures." "For with what plausibility," asks he, "could men presume to speak of matters of faith, without reference to the written documents in which that faith is contained?"

In this sense, we think it is plain, as the only one agreeing with the context, that the following sentence is to be understood:—"Aliunde scilicet suadere possent de rebus fidei, nisi ex litteris fidei?"—(Ib. c. 14.[a]) "By *the very impudence of this appeal*," he afterwards goes on to say, "they advance their cause: they exhaust the patience of the strong, they impose upon the weak, they raise doubts in the minds of the wavering."[b] *The prescription*, therefore, or general rule, which he lays down for managing controversy with persons of so artful a character, is this:—that they should not be permitted to argue the matter on *their alleged* Scriptural grounds; for before the question could be decided in such a way of conducting the inquiry, it was manifest, that the genuineness of the Scriptures to which the parties appealed, must be previously ascertained.[c] And now the question is to be answered, —To what sort of Scriptures did these heretics appeal? to the genuine and undoubted Scriptures? No; neither Tertullian nor Irenæus would have disallowed an appeal to them; but to *spurious writings*, or copies of the Scriptures *mutilated and interpolated*, to serve their own purpose. An appeal to Scripture, whilst men were not agreed as to what was to be taken as Scripture, could lead to no concord; it was an idle

[a] In Semler's edition, it stands thus:—"Aliunde scilicet suadere *non* possent, &c.," without the note of interrogation. The sense is still the same. Dr. Milner's translation of this passage will be shortly seen.

[b] Scripturas obtendunt, et *hac sua audacia* statim quosdam movent: in ipso vero congressu, firmos quidem fatigant, infirmos capiunt, medios cum scrupulo dimittunt.—De Præscript. Hæret. cap. 15.

[c] Hunc igitur potissimum gradum obstruimus, non admittendos *eos ad ullam de Scripturis disputationem*. Si hæ illæ sunt vires eorum, *ut eas habere possint, dispici debet, cui competat possessio Scripturarum*. Ib. cap. 15.

disputation, "calculated only to disorder the stomach, or to distract the brain." [a]

Such is the scope of these passages in Tertullian when viewed in their context, which Dr. Milner, after having mistranslated and compounded according to his own purpose, has adduced to establish this conclusion; for this is the only one which can be drawn from them, as they are put together by him; that Protestants, in appealing to the Bible, resemble the heretics confuted by Tertullian; of whom that Father is represented by him as saying, in terms of the strongest disapprobation, "They meddle with the Scriptures and adduce arguments from them; for in treating of faith *they pretend that they ought not to argue upon any other grounds than the written documents of faith.*" [b]—(Letter x. p. 132.) The artifice consists in making Tertullian deny the legitimacy of an appeal to the *genuine* Scriptures; whereas he denied only the possibility of determining the question by an appeal to *spurious* Scriptures, the heretics making use of *forgeries* and *corrupted copies*, and resorting to a mode of interpretation accommodated solely to their own hypothesis. [c]

Dr. Milner's effrontery in producing these passages of Tertullian as making for his own purpose, is to be equalled only by the unwarrantable freedom which he has taken in translating them.

To complete his perversion of Tertullian, he uses these words: "In another of his works this eloquent Father proves at great length the absolute necessity of admitting Tradition no less than Scripture as the Rule of Faith; inasmuch as many important points, which he mentions, cannot be proved without it" (p. 134).

The work alluded to is the "De Corona Militis," but no reference to the passage is given. Throughout this performance Tertullian is weak and declamatory, though in some passages not ineloquent. In the third and fourth chapters are enumerated "the *important* points," which cannot be proved without Tradition; and they turn out to be ceremonial

[a] Quoniam nihil proficiat congressio Scripturarum, nisi plane aut stomachi quæ ineat, eversionem, aut cerebri.—(Ib. cap. 16). In the next sentence he assigns the reason:—*Ista hæresis non recipit quasdam Scripturas; et si quas recipit, adjectionibus et detractionibus ad dispositionem instituti sui intervertit: et si recipit, non recipit integras.*—Ib. cap. 17.

[b] This he gives as the translation of Tertullian's ironical word:—Sed *ipsi* de Scripturis agunt et de Scripturis suadent! aliunde scilicet suadere possent de rebus fidei, nisi ex literis fidei?—Ib. cap. 14.

[c] His nituntur, quæ ex falso composuerunt, et quæ de ambiguitate ceperunt. Quid promovebis, exercitatissime Scripturarum? cum si quid defenderis, negetur ex diverso. Si quid negaveris, defendatur. Et tu quidem nihil perdes nisi vocem in contentione.—Ib. cap. 17.

practices and observances not indeed enjoined in Scripture; but which Tertullian rightly insists upon, as deriving sufficient authority from express appointment and ecclesiastical usage.[a] Dr. Milner makes Tertullian appeal to them, as a part of the Rule of Faith, and consequently as emanating from Jesus Christ and his Apostles. Tertullian says of these, and of similar appointments: "Annon putas, omni fideli licere concipere et constituere, duntaxat quod Deo congruat, quod disciplinæ conducat, quod saluti proficiat, dicente Domino, cur autem non et a vobis ipsis quod justum est judicatis?" (c. 4).

But, we shall be the better enabled to judge of the origin of these Traditions, by enumerating some of them. They are such as these: the form of renouncing the devil and his angels, used in the rite of baptism; the practice of trine immersion observed in that rite; the tasting of a mixture of milk and honey on coming out of the baptismal bath, and the abstaining afterwards from the use of the common bath for a whole week; the partaking of the sacrament fasting; oblations for the dead (very different, it should be recollected, from masses for the dead); the not fasting, and not kneeling in prayer, on the Lord's day, and between Easter and Whitsuntide; with others of a similar description: most of which "*important*" practices, the Romish Church has herself disused, in virtue of that authority for regulating matters of ceremony and discipline which every church possesses, and by which they had been at first established.

Besides these ingenious perversions of Tertullian's arguments, the doctor has also further accommodated the passages from chapters (not pages, as Dr. Milner strangely misprints it) 36, 37, of the treatise De Præscript. Hæret. most comfortably to his own use, by omitting Tertullian's reference to, and arguments from, the other Catholic Churches, and citing merely the instance of the Church of Rome. "Percurre," says the Father, "Ecclesias Apostolicas," directing inquirers after the truth for confirmation in it to Corinth, Philippi, Thessalonica, Ephesus, and, last of all, to Rome, "if you are in its neighbourhood;" and here it is that Dr. Milner commences his quotations, appropriating all the praise of the Church Catholic to that local Church alone. But are the Roman priests prepared to show that Tertullian is in this passage speaking of the Roman Church at all? Whoever will be at the pains of reading the treatise in the original, will be of opinion that he is not, or that this is at least a very doubtful matter, and that there is quite as much, if not more, reason to suppose that he

[a] Quas sine ullius Scripturæ instrumento, solius Traditionis titulo, et exinde *consuetudinis patrocinio*, vindicamus.—De Cor. Mil. c. 3.

is speaking of the whole Catholic Church, in contradistinction to the heretics. It was obligatory also on Dr. Milner, referring to as he does (we can hardly say making use of) the edition of Rhenanus, to establish the reading "*ista* Ecclesia," which he has adopted, but which the copy of that edition to which we have access (Basil, 1521) does not exhibit (p. 102). That reading tends to help out, in the hands of modern sectarians, a more special application to Rome herself alone, and may enable her to fancy she can adopt Tertullian's language towards the Churches of Marcion and similar communities, and demand, "Who are you, and where did you come from, and what business have you here in *my* vineyard?—This is *my* farm," &c. &c. All this may sound very grand, but, like the notions of the old *Apostolics*, it is in Rome's mouth equally arrogant. It cannot appear to any one so very evident that this passage applies to the local Church of Rome. To many it must be evident, for various reasons, that it does not. No one, for instance, has pretended that it was at Rome that the heresies, here condemned by Tertullian, took their rise; and the Roman priests show that they also have their misgivings, for they introduce the word *Rome* or *Roman* in the passage, where it is not in the original, in order to fasten this sense on the words.[a]

Dr. Milner, after these testimonies, can afford—so rich he fancies himself in Patristic testimony—"to pass over the shining lights of the third century, such as St. Clement of Alexandria, St. Cyprian, Origen, &c., all of whom place Apostolic Tradition on a level with Scripture" (p. 134). Here is an abandonment of the question at issue. Dr. Milner should have shown that some one of these held doctrines which they declared to be "*Apostolical* Traditions," which were not contained in the Scriptures, or that some one of them deemed the Scriptures insufficient as a rule of faith. A passage is given as from Origen, but without any reference, and which we cannot find. On the other hand we have to refer the reader to the extracts already produced from that writer (p. 46, *suprà*).

To this we might add several of a similar nature, but shall content ourselves with the two following:—

"As all gold, whatsoever it be, that is without the temple, is not holy, even so every sense which is without the divine Scripture, however admirable it may appear to some, is not holy, because it is foreign to the Scriptures."[b] And again: "Consider how eminent their danger is who neglect to study

[a] Simons's "Mission and Martyrdom of Peter," p. 115. London, 1852. The reader will consult this book with advantage on this subject.

[b] Origen in Hom. xxx. in Matt. Latin edit. Basil, 1571.

the Scriptures, through which alone a judgment as to the soundness of their instructors can be formed."[a]

There is a passage in Cyprian which refers to *Tradition*. It is in a letter written to Pompeius against Stephen, Bishop of Rome, and we must from this conclude that it was Stephen who pleaded custom and tradition, to which Cyprian replied in the following words:—"Whence comes this tradition? Doth it descend from the Lord's authority, or from the commands and Epistles of the Apostles? For those things are to be done which are there written," &c. "*If it be commanded in the Epistles and Acts of the Apostles, then let this holy tradition be observed.*"[b] Evidently considering those traditions apostolical only which are recorded in the Scriptures. With regard to Clement of Alexandria, Dr. Milner avoids citing any extract to establish his position; the passage, however, to which he doubtless alludes, is that cited by Messrs. Kirk and Berington, in their popular work, entitled "The Faith of Catholics," under the heading "The Church is the Expounder of the Scriptures," pp. 12 and 114 of the first edition, and p. 101 of the second edition. The fraud has been so ably exposed by the Rev. R. T. Pope, in his "Roman Misquotations," cap. i. p. 7, *et seq.* (edit. London, 1840), that the reader will do well to consult that excellent work, should the passage from Clement of Alexandria be quoted against him.

We then are introduced to Basil and Epiphanius, as "illustrious witnesses of the fourth age."

The former is represented as saying, "There are many doctrines preserved and preached in the Church, derived partly from apostolical *tradition*, which have equally *the same force* in religion, and which no one contradicts who has the least knowledge of the Christian laws." The reference is "In Lib. de Spir. Sanc.," one of the most ordinary supports of Papal and Tractarian writers.

It is really a sickening task to be compelled to doubt every statement advanced by a Romish divine, until a careful examination of the originals be instituted. "Really," exclaimed the Rev. Joseph Mendham, while occupied in a similar task as our own, "these papal writers require to be watched at every step, and to be suspected, till they can verify their affidavits, like a felon or a swindler."[c] Who, on reading Dr. Milner's version of St. Basil could doubt but that he was referring to *doctrines* necessary to be believed as matters of *faith?* There is not in the extract, as given by Dr. Milner, the most distant allusion to *rites* and *ceremonies* of the

[a] Lib. x. cap. xvi. sec. 35, in Rom. tom. iv. p. 684. Paris edit.
[b] Cypr. Oper. Epist. 73, ad Pompeium, p. 211. Oxon. 1682.
[c] Mendham's "Life of Pius V.," p. 217. London, 1832.

Church, to which, in fact this "illustrious witness" does refer: the passage is taken from the 27th chapter of the work cited. Basil's own words are—

Ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πεφυλαγμένων δογμάτων καὶ κηρυγμάτων, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἐγγράφου διδασκαλίας ἔχομεν, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῆς τῶν Ἀποστόλων παραδόσεως (p. 351, tom. ii. edit. Paris, 1637.)

A more proper rendering of this would be: "There being both written and preached ordinances preserved in the Church; the first we have from the teaching of the Scripture, the latter from the tradition of the Apostles." Dr. Milner translates the two words *δόγματα* and *κηρύγματα*, by the single word "doctrines." Neither the one nor the other bears that sense. *Δόγμα*, in the original, is by no means equivalent to the modern sense in which the word "dogma" is used. Basil himself says, Ἄλλο γὰρ δόγμα καὶ ἄλλο κήρυγμα,—"a written ordinance is one thing, a preached ordinance is another;" because the *δόγμα*, or written ordinance, remains silent, while the *κήρυγμα* is spread among the people. *Δόγματα* are the rites, customs, and ceremonies of religious worship. Thus it is employed to signify the Jewish "ordinances" (Ephes. ii. 15); and see Luke ii. 1; and see Schleusner's Lexicon, *ad loc.* And Basil says that many such are handed down unwritten in the Church, lest, if written, they should be thought trifling and petty; but still ought equally to be observed: and he proceeds to enumerate more than a dozen instances, not one of which comes near the modern meaning of the word "doctrine," which Dr. Milner has chosen to employ; *e. g.*, signing with the cross, praying towards the east, standing in prayer between Easter and Pentecost, thrice dipping the party baptized; as to which no man will say that they have τὴν αὐτὴν ἰσχὺν ἔχειν πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν,—conduce equally unto godliness with points of faith; nor does the Church of Rome at this day practise them. Now, if these be not necessary to be observed at all, how can they be of equal service unto godliness? How can they be of equal importance with doctrinal points, such as the Articles of our Belief?[a] But, again, Basil was here writing in the heat of disputation, and standing in defence of the rites, ceremonies, and orders of the Church, and spoke indeed very hyperbolically of them; but if we take him in his calmer mood, we shall find no reason to doubt as to his real sentiments on the all-sufficiency of the Scriptures as the sole "rule of faith" of the true believer; and for these his expressed opinions we refer the reader to the passages we have before given, in p. 48.

Epiphanius is quoted as saying, "with equal brevity and

[a] See Birckbek's "Protestant's Evidence," vol. i. p. 206. Edit. London, 1849.

force (as Basil), 'We must make use of *tradition:* for all things are not to be found in Scripture.'—De Hæres. N. 61" [p. 511, tom. i. ed. 1682]. Epiphanius—a great admirer of tradition—backs his opinion with the usual citation from St. Paul, "as I delivered unto you." But neither the Church of England, it should be understood, nor any other Church, refuses tradition, as seems to be constantly assumed. They avail themselves of its testimony with all willingness; but they do not (as Rome) "palter with a double sense," and when putting out, century after century, the same arguments and the same quotations, and the same accusations, employ the term *tradition* in one sense, when their opponents are using it in another. The Papal sect, with two strings to its bow, pulls one or other, as may be most convenient, and ever and anon, reiterates the question, How do you *know*, without tradition, that the Scriptures can be allowed their claim to a divine character or authority? and how do you account for the change of the day for observing Sabbath, and for baptism of infants, &c.? As if all these things were dependent upon the same kind of tradition, equally full, equally important, and equally unquestioned. The points for which tradition, as Papally understood, is thus made to plead, or to supplement the written Scripture, are little else than such customs, rites, and ordinances as those for which St. Paul has been quoted, and are here yoked in the same advocacy with Epiphanius. In the particular portion of the latter author, to which it might have been supposed Rome would not have been very ready to send us, but that the passage forms a link in the ordinary round[a] of quotation on the subject of Tradition; Epiphanius is here combating the *Apostolici*, who, as Augustine observes,[b] most *arrogantly* assumed this name to *themselves*—how closely resembling in this respect another sect, which proclaims herself, on all sides, "holy, Catholic, and *Apostolic*," need not be pointed out—and their opinions on the subjects of marriage and a right to private property. Epiphanius thinks (sect. 6) that the *apparently* contradictory teachings of the Saviour and St. Paul (Luke, xiv. 26; 1 Tim. v. 11)—having himself misapplied and misinterpreted the former—are to be settled from tradition; and affirms that to marry after vows of celibacy borders on sin, and that the Church has so received from the Apostles. But as Chemnitz observes on an allied subject,[c] we

[a] See Perrone's "Prælectiones Theol." de Necess. et Exist. Tradit. sec. 350, and notes.

[b] De Hæresibus, cap. 40.

[c] Examen Conc. Trid. de Cœlibatu, pars iii. p. 100, ed. 1606.

have nothing but his own assertion of the fact; nothing reliable is produced to support either the statement or the doctrine. Epiphanius *himself* proceeds to *argue* on the subject, which were surely unnecessary, if there were any *Apostolic* tradition extant to sanction the opinion, and authoritatively decide the point. As Mr. Goode[a] remarks, Epiphanius "is not speaking of any Christian doctrine," and in other passages frequently bears witness to the satisfying fulness of Scripture for the refutation of false doctrine. Thus, when writing against the *Valentinians*, he says, "Their idle fables are destitute of confirmation, the *Scripture* nowhere mentioning them, neither the law of Moses, nor any prophet; nor, moreover the Saviour, nor his Evangelists, nor the Apostles," &c.

Not to weary our readers by a too long continuance of the same subject, we will defer our further observations on the other authorities quoted by Dr. Milner to another time, and proceed to another subject.

No. IX.

THE RULE OF FAITH.

The Canon of Scripture.

THE Church of England, in her Sixth Article, declares, that "In the name of the Holy Scriptures, we do understand those canonical books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church." These books are then enumerated in the order in which they appear in our authorized version. The other books, which are ordinarily called THE APOCRYPHA, "The Church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners; but yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine;" and the names of these books are also set out; but "all the books of the New Testament, as they are commonly received, we do receive, and account them canonical."

Thus, it will be seen, that we admit such books in our canon of the Old Testament, "*of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church.*"

At its fourth session, the Papal Council of *Trent* "judged proper, lest any doubt should arise in any one what are the sacred books which are received by the Council [and consequently by the Church of Rome], to annex a list of them to

[a] "Divine Rule of Faith and Practice," vol. iii. pp. 123-4. Edit. 1853.

the [then] present decree:" and to that decree is added a list of the books which the Council declared canonical; and the decree concludes as follows:—"If any one shall not receive as sacred and canonical all those books, with every part of them, as they are commonly read in the Catholic Church, and are contained in the OLD VULGATE LATIN EDITION:—let him be accursed."

The Council appealed to antiquity in support of its views of what it declared to be the true canon; for throughout its proceedings, an unchanged and unbroken tradition and consent of the early fathers is constantly appealed to; and the 25th, or last, session is thus brought to a close by the united assembly exclaiming—"The sacred and holy œcumenical Council of Trent: let us confess its Faith; let us ever keep its Decrees.—We all thus believe; we all think the very same; we all, consenting and embracing them, subscribe—*This is the faith of blessed Peter, and of the Apostles: this is the faith of the Fathers: this is the faith of the orthodox.* Thus we believe; thus we think; thus we subscribe. So be it—so be it, Amen, amen! Anathema to all heretics! Anathema —anathema!"

And thus this Council closed with a reiterated CURSE!

In comparing the two canons of Scripture as admitted by the two Churches, we find, regarding the New Testament, as before observed, a perfect agreement between the Churches of England and Rome; but they differ in their enumeration of the Old Testament Books; the Church of Rome admits all those acknowledged as canonical by us, but to these are added the following, which we call APOCRYPHAL,—the Books of *Tobit, Judith, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch,* and the *First and Second Books of Maccabees;* all which are specially named: and this list *includes,* in the Books of Esther and Daniel, what are called "the Rest of the Book of Esther and Daniel"—that is, from after the third verse of the 10th chapter of Esther to the end of the 16th chapter, and from and including the 13th and 14th chapter of Daniel, as appears in the present Douay version (the *Story of Susanna,* and of *Bel and the Dragon*)—and the *Song of the Three Children.*

We have now to examine what Dr. Milner has to say on this subject. He commences by throwing ridicule on the confidence which Protestants feel when they "get possession of an English Bible printed by the king's printer" (Thomas Basket, for instance), as though received immediately from the Almighty; but as the Bible cannot bear testimony of itself, this confidence, he alleges, is vain; and sneeringly and triumphantly asks, "By what means have we learnt what is

the *Canon* of Scripture? that is to say, which are the books that have been written by Divine inspiration? or, indeed, how have we ascertained that *any* books, at all, have been so written?"—(Letter ix. p. 113.) And after suggesting against the inspiration of the Scriptures several of the leading arguments of the sceptic or atheist,—particularly that numerous apocryphal prophecies, and spurious gospels and epistles were circulated in the Church during its early ages, and accredited by different *learned writers and holy fathers: while some of the really canonical books were rejected or doubted by them,*—he concludes with these words:—

"In short, it was not until the end of the fourth century, that the genuine Canon of the Holy Scriptures was fixed: and then it was fixed by the *tradition and authority of the Church*, declared in the third Council of Carthage, and a decretal of Pope Innocent I." In Letter xliii. p. 411, he refers in a note to the Canon of Pope Gelasius as an authority. And again, in Letter xlviii., to the objection that Romanists "rank the apocryphal with the canonical books of Scriptures," he answers:—

"That the same authority, namely, that of the Catholic Church, in the fifth century, and which decided on the canonical character of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Revelations [Revelation?], and five other books of the New Testament, on which character, till that time, the Fathers and ecclesiastical writers were not agreed, decided also on the canonicity of the books of Toby, Judith, and five other books of the Old Testament, being those alluded to as apocryphal. If the Church of the fifth century deserves to be heard on one part of her testimony, she evidently deserves to be heard on the other."

The period, "the Church of the fifth century," last referred to by Dr. Milner, points to the decision of the third Council of Carthage, A.D. 397. He pretends that the third Council of Carthage declared on authority of the tradition of the Church the genuine Canon of Scripture. Three questions at once suggest themselves:—*First*, Have we any evidence in existence showing what was the tradition of the Church previous to the alleged decision of the third Council of Carthage on the subject of the apocryphal books? *secondly*, Is *the Canon*, on which reliance is placed, genuine? and *thirdly*, If genuine, was the alleged tradition fixed by the authority of this Council, and accepted by the Church?

I. On the question of *Tradition* up to the date of this Council.

St. Paul informs us that "unto the Jews were committed

the oracles of God."[a] Cardinal Bellarmine, the great Roman controversialist, admitted that the Jews rejected all those books which we call apocryphal;[b] and it is a very significant fact that neither Christ nor any of the inspired writers of the New Testament, quote from, or refer to, any of these books; and in the first century of the Church, there is not one *iota* of evidence to show that any one of these books was admitted into the Canon, as inspired writings.

In the second century we have the testimony of *Melito*, the Bishop of Sardis, who, in an epistle to Onesimus, enumerates the Canon of the Old Testament,[c] from which the apocryphal books are omitted. Bellarmine, in fact, admits that Melito followed the Jewish Canon;[d] and, indeed, Eusebius, to whom we are much indebted for the history of the Church in those days, in his "Ecclesiastical History" quotes directly from Melito himself a letter, signifying that he had inquired what the books of Scripture consisted of, and gives a list of them; but among these appear none of the apocryphal class.[e]

In the third century we have the testimony of *Origen* against the alleged *Tradition*. Of him, Eusebius likewise testifies, that as Origen received the Canon of the Jews, he rejected the Apocrypha.[f]

In the fourth century we have the testimony of *Saint* Hilary, Bishop of Poictiers, and *Saint* Cyprian (or as some say, Ruffinus),[g] who also enumerate the Canon of Scripture, as held in their day, being the same as was admitted by the Jews; this testimony of Hilary is acknowledged by Bellarmine.[h] *Saint* Cyril of Jerusalem also reckoned according to the Jewish Canon, and directed his catechumens to peruse the twenty-two books (the number into which the Jews divided the Canon), but not to meddle with the Apocrypha; and he exhorted them "to meditate diligently upon those Scriptures, which the Church doth confidently read, and use no other."[i] In this century we have also the testimony of

[a] Rom. iii. 12.

[b] Bell. de Verb. Dei, lib. i. cap. 1, sec. i. tom. i. p. 18. Edit. Prag. 1721.

[c] Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. cap. 26, p. 191. Edit. Cantab. 1720.

[d] Bell. de Verb. Dei, lib. i. cap. 20, sec. xv. tom. i. p. 38. Prag. 1721.

[e] Euseb. lib. iv. cap. 26, p. 191. Edit. Cantab. 1720.

[f] Ib. lib. vi. c. 16. p. 289, ut suprà.

[g] Apud Hieron. Oper. Ben. tom. v. col. 141. Paris, 1693.

[h] Bell. de Verb. Dei, lib. ii. cap. 1, sec. xv. tom. i. p. 38. Edit. Prag. 1721.

[i] Cyril, Catech. 4, sec. xx. Edit. Oxon. 1703. It appears, however, that Cyril admitted the Book of Baruch and the Epistle of Jeremiah; but it is not at all improbable that, as he refers to the Jewish standard of computation, he refers to these in the sense in which Augustine speaks of the apocryphal

Gregory of Nazianzus, who expressly gives a catalogue of the canonical Scripture agreeing with our own.[a] To *Saint* Jerome, we are informed by Romanists, was intrusted the revision of the translation of the Old Testament by Damasus, the Bishop of Rome, and it appears that he was occupied on this work during the very sitting of the Council of Carthage, cited above. He distinctly adheres to the books constituting the Jewish Canon, and expressly rejects the several apocryphal books by name;[b] and this, too, is admitted by Cardinal Bellarmine.[c] The reader will not have failed to remark the appeal to the "old Vulgate Latin edition," as the authority in which we are to find the books to be deemed "sacred and canonical," and which are to be adopted and received under the penalty of a curse. Now the term "Vetus editio Vulgata Latina" was used after the publication of Jerome's version, which was called "Editio *Nova* Vulgata," the *New* Latin Vulgate, to denote that which was made from the Greek Canon. So that, while Jerome's translation, established by the authority of Damasus (in the Western Church) is *ostensibly* retained in the Roman Communion, all those parts which Jerome rejected as apocryphal, are brought in again on the authority of the old Latin Vulgate![d]

In this century we have likewise a council, namely that of Laodicea, held A.D. 357. In the 60th canon of this council the canonical books are recited just as we accept them;[e] and this canon was confirmed by the General Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451;[f] as also by the Council of Constantinople, in Trullo, A.D. 692, by two hundred and eleven bishops.[g]

In the fifth century we have the testimony of *Saint* Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis, in the island of Cyprus, who reckoned up the canon of twenty-two books, as we do, and

books as after explained. A very able critique on the passage from Cyril will be found in Pope's "Roman Misquotations," p. 39, et seq. London, 1840.

[a] Greg. Naz. ad Seleucum, tom. ii. p. 194. Paris, 1630.

[b] Hier. Ep. ad Paulinum; Oper. Ben. 1693, et seq. tom. iv. sec. pars col. 571-4, et Præ. in Libros Salomonis, tom. i. pp. 938-9.

[c] Bell. de Verbo Dei, lib. i. cap. 10, sec. xx. tom. i. p. 20. Prag. 1721.

[d] See Dr. Jarvis's "Reply to Milner's End of Religious Controversy," p. 51. New York, 1847.

[e] Bin. Concill. Conc. Laodicen. can. 60, tom. i. p. 304. Lutet. Paris. 1636. "Let it be observed, that though they [*Baruch* and the Epistle of *Jeremiah*] are in some copies [of the Laodicean Canons], yet not in all; that Aristenus in his transcript has them not, nor *Caranza*."—See Beveridge's Synodicon, tom. i. p. 481; and Carran. Summa Concill. Paris, 1677. Cum approbat. et permiss. p. 140 (quoted by R. T. P. Pope, in his "Roman Misquotations").

[f] See Cosin's "Scholast. Hist. of the Canon," sect. lxxxv. London, 1672.

[g] Labbe et Coss. tom. iv. col. 1140, can. 2. Edit. Paris, 1671.

in express words declares that the books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus are to be excluded.[a]

And lastly, we have the testimony of *Saint* Augustine, who, it is alleged, assisted at the Council of Carthage, and sanctioned the Canon in question. Now there is not the slightest doubt but that Augustine expressly excluded the books of Maccabees from the Canon of Scripture;[b] and notwithstanding this express exclusion of these books, he elsewhere *includes* these books when he enumerates a *Canon* of Scripture;[c] but he made, nevertheless, a marked difference between the term *Canon* of Scripture and *inspired* Scripture; he used the word *Canon* as denoting the books which were held in reverence and read in the churches, under which title, besides the *inspired* books, the apocryphal were also contained. That the word *Canon*, as employed by him, must be understood with this latitude of meaning, is obvious, from what he says as to the *preference* to be given to some of the canonical books over others. In the case of *inspired* Scripture, it would be absurd to talk of preference. Inspiration does not admit of degrees. The divine element of the Scriptures is not a quantitative thing, conferring different values on different parts of the Scriptures, in proportion to the amount of it that may be found or thought to exist in them. The above is no new explanation of Augustine's words in the passage under consideration; it was given by one of the most renowned Roman doctors, and one, moreover, who was the personal antagonist of Luther,—Cardinal Cajetan. We shall quote his own words, as they occur at the close of his Commentary on the Book of Esther. The whole passage is most remarkable, and therefore we will make no apology for giving it at length:—"Here we end our commentaries on the historical books of the Old Testament; for the remainder —viz., Judith, Tobit, and the Books of Maccabees—are not included by St. Jerome among the canonical books, but are placed, along with Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, among the Apocrypha. Do not be uneasy, tyro, if you should anywhere find those [apocryphal] books enumerated amongst the canonical, either by holy councils or by holy doctors; for the words both of councils and of doctors must be brought to accord with the rule of Jerome; and, according to his decision, *those books* [the apocryphal books enumerated], and if there

[a] Epiph. tom. ii. p. 161. Edit. Colon. 1682.

[b] Aug. de Mirab. Sacræ Scrip. p. 26, tom. iii. part i., and in De Civ. Dei, lib. xviii. cap. 36, p. 519, tom. vii. Paris, 1685; and Cont. Secundam Ep. Gaud. lib. i. cap. 31. p. 821. Edit. Bass. 1797.

[c] De Doctrina Christiana, lib. ii. cap. 8.

be any others like them in the Canon of the Bible, are *not canonical*—that is to say, do not contain rules *for confirming articles of faith; they may, however, be called canonical, as containing rules for the edification* of the faithful, inasmuch as they have been admitted into the Canon of the Bible and authorized for this very purpose. With *this distinction* you will be able to discern the meaning of the *words of Augustine* (de Doctr. Christ., lib. ii.), as, also, of the decrees of the Council of Florence, under Eugenius IV., and of the provincial Councils of Carthage and Laodicea, and of Popes Innocent and Gelasius."[a]

Now, Cardinal Cajetan lived so late as the sixteenth century, and is described by his contemporaries as an "incomparable theologian, to whom, as to a common oracle, men were wont to resort in all difficult questions of theology;" and he had the benefit of *Saint* Augustine's writings when he thus expressed himself on the question now at issue. His works abound with statements of a similar kind to those above quoted. We will here quote two more, if possible stronger than those which have been referred to. One occurs in his commentary on the first chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews:—"We have adopted Jerome's rule, to prevent us from error in the determination of the canonical books; for we esteem as canonical those which he delivered as such, and those which he separated from the canonical books we hold to be outside the Canon."[b] The other passage is found in the Dedicatory Epistle to Pope Clement VII., prefixed to Cajetan's Commentaries on the Historical Books of the Old Testament. "Most blessed father," he writes, "the universal Latin Church is most deeply indebted to St. Jerome, not only on account of his annotations on the Scriptures, but

[a] Hoc in loco terminamus Commentaria Librorum Histor. Vet. Test. Nam reliqui—viz., Judith, Tobiæ, et Maccabæorum, libri a B. Hieronymo *extra canonicos libros* supputantur, et inter *Apocrypha* locantur, cum libro Sapientiæ et Ecclesiastico. Nec turberis, novitie, si alicubi repereris libros istos inter *canonicos* supputari, vel in sacris conciliis, vel in sacris doctoribus. Nam ad Hieronymi limam reducenda sunt tam verba conciliorum, quam doctorum; et juxta illius sententiam, libri isti, et si qui alii sunt in *Canone Biblia* similes, *non sunt canonici*, hoc est, non sunt *regulares* ad firmandum ea quæ sunt *fidei*; possunt tamen dici canonici, hoc est regulares ad ædificationem fidelium, utpote in Canone Bibliæ ad hoc recepti et authoritati. Cum hac enim distinctione discernere poteris et *dicta Augustini* in lib. ii. de Doctr. Christ. et Scripta in Conc. Flor. sub Eugen. IV., Script. quæ in provincialibus Conciliis Carthag. et Laodic., et ab Innocentio ac Gelasio Pontificibus.—Cajetan. in omnes authenticos Vet. Test. hist. libr. Comment. p. 482. Parisiis, 1546. We extract the above from the "Catholic Layman," vol. iv. p. 69. Dublin, 1855.

[b] Cajetani comment. in 1 cap. Ep. ad Heb.—Hieronymi sortiti sumus regulam, ne erremus in discretione librorum canonicorum; nam quos ille canonicos tradidit, canonicos habemus; et quos ille a canonicis discrevit, extra canonem habemus.

also because he distinguished the canonical books from the non-canonical, inasmuch as he thereby freed us from the reproach of the Hebrews, who otherwise might say that we were *forging* for ourselves books or parts of books belonging to the ancient Canon, which they never received."[a] Cajetan's work appeared but twelve years before the Council of Trent, and was dedicated to Pope Clement VII., and received his approbation. Consequently, Jerome's rule, relative to the broad distinction between the canonical books (properly so called) and the apocryphal, was then recognized by the Roman Pontiff himself.[b]

We can now fully appreciate Dr. Milner's appeal to the "tradition and authority of the Church," according to which the bishops assembled at the third Council of Carthage, in the fifth century, are said to have been regulated in fixing the Canon of Scripture.

II. The second point we proposed for our consideration is whether the decree of the third Council of Carthage, on which reliance is placed as an authority for fixing the Canon of Scripture for the whole Catholic Church is genuine. We have several grave objections to urge, to which satisfactory replies must be given before the authority of this decree can be conceded to Dr. Milner.

1. The forty-seventh canon is *the* canon that is cited. It purports to give a list of *canonical* Scriptures.[c] By a strange blunder, the council has enumerated "FIVE Books of Solomon;" that is, besides Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs, which are in the Hebrew Canon, not only what is called, in the Septuagint, the Wisdom of Solomon, but also the Book of Jesus the son of Sirach, written 800 years after the death of Solomon, are also attributed to him![d]

2. In not one of the Greek copies or manuscripts of this canon are to be found enumerated the Books of Maccabees,[e] which raises a strong suspicion that the canon itself is forged.[f]

[a] Cajetani Ep. dedic. ad P. Clem. VII., ante Comm. in Lib. Hist. V. T.—S. Hieronymo, Pater beatissime, universa ecclesia Latina plurimum debet, non solum ob annotatas Scripturas, sed etiam propter discretos ab eodem Libros canonicos a non canonicis. Liberavit siquidem nos ab Hebræorum opprobrio, quod fingamus nobis antiqui canonis libros aut librorum partes, quibus ipsi penitus carent,—in Cousin on the Canon, sec. 173.

[b] "Catholic Layman," as above.

[c] Labbe et Coss. Concil. tom. ii. col. 117. Edit. Paris, 1671.

[d] See Dr. Jarvis, ut suprà, p. 50.

[e] Justellus, Cod. Can. Eccles. Afric. can. 24, note; and Synod. Carthag. apud Balsam. in editione Joh. Tilii.

[f] See Sir H. Lynde's "Via Devia," in supplement to Gibson's "Preservative from Popery," p. 166. London, 1850.

And Dr. Milner should explain why the Latin copy should be adopted in preference to the Greek.

3. Cardinal Baronius,[a] the Roman Annalist, and Binius,[b] admit that this particular canon was not confirmed by this council, but by some other subsequent council of Carthage.

4. As a further proof that the canon is spurious, and that the list of canonical books was inserted by some forger of later date, we may observe that the council was held in the year 397, Cæsarius and Atticus being consuls, as the Council itself relates, and yet the canon which contains the list of canonical books refers to Pope Boniface, who was not Pope until 418, or twenty years after.[c] It is therefore clear that this list was made and put in by some one who lived so long after the council, that he had forgotten who was Pope at the time it was held.[d]

5. We have said that the canon, as appears in the decree of the Council of Laodicea, agrees with our list, but differs from the list given by the later council, the third of Carthage; we have also seen that the Council of Constantinople, in Trullo, A.D. 692, confirmed the canons of the former council, which *rejected* the Apocrypha, but it also confirmed the canons of the latter council,[e] which is said to have *admitted* the Apocrypha as canonical Scripture. Now, did the Council in Trullo, of 211 Bishops, intend to confirm both lists? This is very unlikely. But if there was no list issued by the later Council (of Carthage), which we think our readers will agree in declaring most probable, then those 211 Bishops confirmed only that list which is now admitted by us Protestants as the only true list; and we have not yet heard the canon of the Council of Laodicea called in question on the score of genuineness.

III. The third proposition is, that supposing the canon to be genuine, was the alleged tradition of the Church, with regard to the Canon of Scripture, fixed by the decree of the third Council of Carthage, and universally observed by members of the Roman Catholic Church?

It so happens that when this same council was cited as opposed to the authority of the Bishop of Rome—the twenty-sixth canon declaring that the Bishop of that see was not to be called the chief priest—Cardinal Bellarmine, ever foremost in defence of his church, with more zeal than judgment

[a] Baron. An. 397, num. 56, p. 249. Lucæ, 1740.
[b] Bin. in Concil. Carth. 3, p. 722, tom. i. Paris, 1636.
[c] See a list of the Popes in Labbe and Coss. Conc. Gen. tom. xvi. p. 130. Paris, 1671.
[d] See "Catholic Layman," vol. ii. p. 112.
[e] Labb. Coss. Concil. tom. vi. p. 1140, can. 2. Paris, 1671.

declared that "this *provincial council* ought not to bind the Bishop of Rome, nor the bishops of other provinces."[a] Then why should it be binding on us? Shortly after the meeting of this Council of Carthage, a General Council of the Church was held, at which, as we have seen, the canons of Laodicea were confirmed. And further, this same third Council of Carthage places the third and fourth books of Esdras in the Canon, which Bellarmine places among the Apocrypha, so that, in fact, the Church of Rome does not follow this Council.

Again, so far from dogmatically fixing the tradition of the Church, Du Pin, taking the decree to be genuine, tells us that the books in question were introduced into the Canon only provisionally, "upon condition that the church beyond sea should be consulted for its confirmation, as is implied in an ancient note on that canon, which runs thus, *De confirmando isto canone transmarina ecclesia consulatur*. And this very canon is repeated in the Council of Carthage, held in the year 419, with a clause much like the former."[b]

But we have ample evidence that the alleged tradition was not fixed by this provincial council, even in the Roman Church. We propose to cite the names of some leading members of that church in each successive century, all of whom rejected, in whole or in part, the apocryphal books, up to the holding of the Council of Trent; and should the reader require evidence of what we assert, he will find it set out in Sir H. Lynde's "*Via Devia*,"[c] and Birckbek's "Protestant Evidence."[d]

In the *sixth* century, Junilius, an African bishop.

In the *seventh* century, Pope Gregory I.

In the *eighth*, *Saint* Damascene, and Alcuin, Abbot of St. Martin of Tours.

In the ninth, Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople.

In the tenth, Ælfrick, Abbot of Malmesbury; and Radulphus Flaviacensis, the monk.

In the eleventh, Peter, Abbot of Clugni.

In the twelfth, Hugo de Sancto Victore, Richardus de Sancto Victore, and Rupert of Duyts.

In the thirteenth, Hugo Cardinalis and *Saint* Bonaventure.

In the fourteenth, William Occham and Nicholas de Lyra.

In the fifteenth, Alphonsus Tostatus, Thomas Waldensis, Dionysius Carthusianus.

[a] Bell. de Rom. Pont. lib. ii. c. 31, sec. viii. p. 387, tom. i. Edit. Prag. 1721.
[b] Du Pin, Hist. of the Canon, &c. fol. vol. i. pp. 8, 9. London, 1699.
[c] Sect. iv. pp. 142—171. London, 1840.
[d] Edit. 1849, title, "Canon of Scripture."

And in the sixteenth, we have Cardinal Cajetan.

So much then for the alleged tradition which the modern Tridentine Church professes to follow.

The next authority appealed to by Dr. Milner is a Decretal of Pope Innocent I.

The alleged list of canonical books is contained in an epistle which pretends to have been written by Pope Innocent I., in the year 405. The list stands at the end—just the place where the forger would add it in after-times. No one appears ever to have heard of that list of Pope Innocent's for FOUR HUNDRED AND SIXTY years after the date of that letter! of this we have proof. Cresconius, who wrote at the end of the seventh century, professed to show the agreement between the canons of the councils and the epistles of the Popes: he quotes that very letter of Pope Innocent *six* times, to show its agreement with the canons of the councils in *six* points; but when he comes to speak of the list of canonical books, he says nothing at all of any list made by Pope Innocent, clearly showing that no such list was in that letter in his time.

We hear of Pope Innocent's list, *for the first time*, in the ninth century, AFTER a great mass of forgeries of letters of Popes had been published and imposed upon the Church. *Even in that age*, Pope Nicholas says there was no list yet in the canons of the Church, and he then produces the list of Pope Innocent *for the first time*, and that too in a letter written for the very purpose of imposing those forged letters on the Church as true and genuine documents.[a]

Such then is the further *authority* on which Dr. Milner relies for establishing the tradition of his Church on the canonical list.

Cardinal Cajetan, of the sixteenth century, who evidently believed this list to be genuine, places the same interpretation on the word "canonical," used by Pope Innocent, as employed by Augustine, classing the two in the very same passage, which we have before quoted, where Cajetan states that Augustine, in arranging these books with the *inspired* Canon, did not place them on the same footing. But how can Romanists appeal to Innocent's list, when the earliest copies contained no book of "Tobit!"[b] And, lastly, in another part of the

[a] The reader is referred to a series of papers containing a critical and minute examination of these forged decretals in the "Catholic Layman," Dublin, 1853-4, from the December number, 1853. Pope Nicholas's letter is fully and critically examined in the January number of 1854, pp. 2—4. The above also is borrowed from the same source, p. 126, vol. ii. 1853.

[b] Merlin's Councils; Colon. 1530, fol. clxxxv. Paris, 1535.

book,[a] Dr. Milner cites Pope Gelasius as admitting the book of Maccabees in the Canon of Scripture; this is supposed to be in a council held at Rome, A.D. 494.[b] This council is a manifest forgery wholly unworthy of credit. It rests altogether on the authority of Isidore Mercator, who lived in the ninth century, and who is now acknowledged by all Roman Catholics of learning to have been the most impudent and audacious forger that the world has ever seen. No writer before his time has mentioned this council or list of Gelasius. There are no authentic records that can be relied on. Some say it was held by Pope Damasus, some by Pope Gelasius, some by Hormisdas. The copies differ so much that the Roman cardinals appointed by the Pope to correct the Decretum of Gratian, when they came to a passage quoted from this council, had to say, "It cannot be known which is the pure and true reading."[c]

The records of this council contain long passages, word for word the same with the decretal epistle of Pope Anacletus, which it is now confessed that this Isidore forged along with about sixty other epistles from the early Popes.[d] There is set forth a list of the patriarchal sees, also exactly agreeing with that forged epistle, making Alexandria the second; which list is directly opposed to the second general council,[e] and is not found in any genuine writing of antiquity. The whole thing rests on the credit of that infamous forger. It is enough to have the Canon Law filled with his forgeries;[f] why should we have him corrupting our Bibles too? Richter, the learned editor of the Canon Law, says of this council, "They are not wanting who consider the whole apocryphal." And well they may, when it is traced to Isidore.[g] And, after all, it is more doubtful whether Isidore ever put any list of the canonical books into this council at all. One of the oldest copies in existence (that in the Pope's own library) gives the council without any list of the books of Scripture in it.[h] So it would seem the list was appended by some later forger in still later times.[i]

With the above well-authenticated facts before us, we cannot but admire the confident tone with which Dr. Milner

[a] Letter xlvii. p. 411.
[b] Labbe and Coss. tom. iv. col. 1260. Paris, 1672.
[c] Note of the Correctors on Dist. xv. c. 3.
[d] Compare with Decret. Dist. xxii. c. 2.
[e] Labbe and Coss. tom. ii. p. 948, can. 3. Paris, 1671.
[f] See the series of articles in the "Catholic Layman."
[g] Leipsic ed. 1839, vol. i. p. 31.
[h] Berhard, in Canones Gratiani, vol. ii. p. 316.
[i] "Catholic Layman," October, 1853, p. 112.

sums up his observations on the subject under consideration.

"Indeed, it is so clear that the Canon of Scripture is built on the tradition of the Church, that most learned Protestants, with Luther himself, have been forced to acknowledge it, in terms almost as strong as those in the well-known declaration of St. Augustine—'I should not believe the Gospel itself, if the authority of the Catholic Church did not oblige me to do so.'—(Contra Epist. Fundam.)" The Protestants referred to are—"Hooker, Eccl. Polit. c. iii. s. 8; Dr. Lardner, in Bishop Watson's Col., vol. ii. p. 20." And, as a reference to Luther, is added the following note:—"We are obliged to yield many things to Papists—that with them is the Word of God, which we received from them, otherwise we should have known nothing at all about it.—(Comment. on John xvi.)"

Here, then, by a side wind, as it were, is the Tridentine Canon brought under the patronage of Augustine, Hooker, Lardner, and Luther.

With regard to Luther, we may for the present observe (the quotation we propose to examine more at length in another article), that he wrote no "Comment. on John xvi.;" but he did write examinations or homilies on the Gospels and Epistles for the year; but the reference is too vague to test the truth of the assertion of Dr. Milner. Dr. Grier has sufficiently exposed his quotations alleged to be from Luther, to warrant us in disbelieving anything the doctor may say unaccompanied by *precise references*; but supposing the quotations to be accurate, what weight can the assertion have with us? The statement is not true, for the *Greek* Church and *Greek* fathers, not the *Latin* Church nor *Latin* fathers, claim first our obligations. The statement with reference to Augustine, Hooker, and Lardner deserves our consideration.

Augustine's words are, "*Ego verò Evangelio non crederem nisi me Catholicæ Ecclesiæ commoveret authoritas;*"[a] which, literally is, "I should not have believed the Gospel, except the authority of the Church had moved me thereunto;" which Dr. Milner very artfully converts into, "I should not believe the Gospel itself, if the authority of the Catholic Church did not oblige me to do so;" and this rendering, coming immediately in juxta-position with the alleged concession from Luther, that "we are obliged to yield many things to *Papists*," Dr. Milner would have us believe that Augustine was here pointing to the authority of the *Roman* Church; and since the modern Roman Church does admit the

[a] Aug. contr. Ep. Fund. c. 6, tom. viii. col. 154, Benedict. edit.

Apocrypha, therefore, as a natural sequence, *we* must admit the Canon of Scripture which includes these books, on the authority of the Roman Church. The whole is a fallacy. We have shown that Augustine did not admit the same Canon as does the modern Tridentine Roman Church. He expressly excluded the Maccabees, if he did not reject the others also; but it is most clear, as admitted by eminent Romanists,[a] that Augustine's words, quoted by Dr. Milner, had relation to the primitive Church, which both saw Christ's person and his miracles, and heard his doctrine; to this very same authority we also appeal for our guide. What Christian is not, let us ask, induced or moved as a *first motive* to receive the Canon of Scripture as now handed down to us, by the fact that the Christian Church from the most primitive times has admitted with common consent certain books as inspired?

Are not the books of Scripture, as well as the various articles of Faith, when inquiry is made into the authority that presents them for acceptance, made to rest upon the reception of them in succession from the earliest times? No branch of the Catholic Church either can or desires to set aside the corroborative external testimony afforded by what is understood under the the term "the Church." Dr. Milner, indeed, fancies that the Protestant Churches cannot avail themselves of this evidence; takes "the Church" to be of course his own Church; repeats for the thousandth time, and as inapplicably as ever, the truly "well-known declaration" from St. Augustine, how he was led by the Church to receive the Gospel; and then thinks the cause is settled, and that the Protestants being outlawed, they can never enjoy the rights and privileges of true and honest citizens.

But are the churches of Europe all this while denying the testimony of the Church? By no means! They only deny the Church of Rome to be "the Church." They assent to the *dictum* of Augustine; but they question Rome's peculiar, or indeed any, property in the title.

But Dr. Milner and similar citers of Augustine might agree about the meaning of these words, before using them, or expecting such effects to follow the producing of them. Augustine was dealing with the Manichæans, who, as Bishop Canus[b] has shown, would have a certain Gospel of their own, admitted without further dispute; in this case, he says

[a] Durand, 1, 3. Dist. 24, 9, 1, fo. ccxci. Paris, 1508. Driedo. de Eccl. Script. et Dogm., lib. iv. c. 4. Gerson, de Vita Spir. Animæ, lect. 2, Coroll. 7, p. 24, tom. iii. pars 1. Paris, 1706.

[b] Canus, Loc. Theol. lib. ii. c. 8, p. 52. Colon. 1605.

Augustine puts the question, "What if you meet with one who doth not believe the Gospel? what motive would you use to such an one to bring him to your belief? I, for my part," he says, "should not have been brought to embrace the Gospel, if the Church's authority had not swayed with me." And then goes on to show, that though the Church may induce a person to accept with confidence the books presented to him as Scripture, yet it cannot secure him the possession of the "*fidem* Evangelii:" the external material instrument it can produce and vouch for, but can do no more. So that this Romish bishop gives a very different interpretation to Augustine's words from that of Dr. Milner.[a] "By the mouth of God," said Augustine, "which is the truth, I know the Church of God, which is partaker of the truth."[b] The Church, in fact, with him is known from the Word of God.

Hooker does indeed admit the high value of the evidence which, not the Church of Rome, but the Church Catholic, affords to the Bible being the Word of God. He thus writes:—"The voice and testimony of the Church, acknowledging Scripture to be the law of the living God, is for the truth and certainty thereof no mean evidence. For if with reason we may presume upon things which a few men's dispositions do testify, suppose we that the minds of men are not both at their first access to the school of Christ exceedingly moved, yea, and for ever afterwards also confirmed much, when they consider the main consent of all the churches in the whole world witnessing the sacred authority of Scriptures, ever since the first publication thereof even till this present day and hour? And that they all have always so testified, I see not how we should possibly wish a proof more palpable, than this manifest, received, and everywhere continued custom of reading them publicly as the Scriptures. The reading therefore of the Word of God, as the use hath ever been, in open audience, is the plainest evidence we have of the Church's assent and acknowledgment that it is His Word." [Hooker, Eccles. Polit. Book v. c. xxii. § 2, p. 114, edit. Oxon. 1836. The reference given by Dr. Milner, "c. iii. § 8," is rather unintelligible. We propose to return to this reference to Hooker.] This language is too plain to need any explanation from us; the sentiment is so appropriate to the explanation of Augustine, as given by the Romish Bishop Canus. But a reader unacquainted with Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity" would suppose that this justly esteemed writer admitted the apocryphal works into the Canon of Scripture, based on the

[a] See Sir H. Lynde's "Via Devia," sect. xviii. p. 279. London, 1850.
[b] Aug. in Psal. 57, p. 545, tom. iv. Paris, 1681.

imaginary *tradition of the Church of Rome:* on the contrary, Hooker most clearly places all these works *out* of the Canon. —(See Book v. c. xx.)

We have consulted Dr. Lardner in Bishop Watson's collection, vol. ii. p. 20, and can meet with no such a sentiment as intimated by Dr. Milner. Whether Dr. Lardner ever wrote such a passage or not, is of little consequence. Both Hooker and Lardner do, of course, accept *historical tradition,* as is well known, as one of the main proofs of the present Canon of Scripture, apart from the Apocrypha; and though we have many arguments to support our views, and many additional *reasons* for refusing to accept the apocryphal books, we have based our proofs in opposition to Dr. Milner wholly on the *historical tradition* of the Church.

No. X.

REFORMERS AND THE REFORMATION.

Historical Misrepresentations with reference to the Reformation—Henry VIII. —Duke of Somerset—Queen Elizabeth—The Reformation attributed to Political causes: the avarice of the nobility and gentry, and the irreligion and licentiousness of the people.[a]

The Reformation of the Church of England, in the sixteenth century, threw off the usurpation of the Pope, together with the whole mass of perilous innovations in faith and practice which had grown up in the Church of Rome during a thousand years before. It was the result, under the favouring providence of God, of a general awakening of the minds of men throughout Europe, forced into reluctant action by an accumulation of abuses and oppression on the part of the priesthood, of which the last was the issuing of indulgences by Pope Leo X., whose agents roused the indignant eloquence of Luther. The movement, however, had its real commencement in the latter part of the fourteenth century, when the famous Wickliffe boldly attacked the authority of the Pope, the jurisdiction of the bishops, and the temporalities of the Church. He also assailed the doctrine of transubstantiation; but his most important work was the translation of the Bible into English, after it had been, for so many ages, a sealed book to the great body of the priests and to all the laity.

The preachings and the writings of this extraordinary man, aided by his translation of the Scriptures, bore fruit

[a] The whole of this article is adapted from Bishop Hopkins's "Reply to Milner."—Letter III.

far and wide. Not only did he succeed in gathering around him a numerous body of adherents, amongst the nobles as well as the middling class in England, whom the Romanists stigmatized with the name of Lollards, but he was the origin of the effort towards reform in Bohemia, for which John Huss and Jerome of Prague were condemned by the Council of Constance, and suffered the agonies of martyrdom. Wickliffe himself, of course, was adjudged to be a heretic, and the sword of Rome was raised against his followers with its usual persecuting vigour. The *Lollards' Tower* yet remains, attached to the Archiepiscopal palace at Lambeth, where may still be seen the time-worn monuments of the cruelties which gave it that name. As we gaze upon the gloomy walls which imprisoned so many of the martyrs of the Bible, and see the iron rings bolted in the oaken floor, to which they had been chained in the bloody ages of Papal supremacy, we cannot but feel, with an emotion of unspeakable gratitude, the contrast between the mild and gentle government of the Church of England and the savage and crushing despotism which [in England] has passed away.

But although Rome succeeded, apparently, in extirpating the influence of Wickliffe by her favourite weapons of the dungeon and the stake, yet it can hardly be doubted that a lasting impression had been made upon many thousand minds, which contributed largely to the ultimate triumph of the true Reformation in the sixteenth century. In many respects, the notions of that eminent man were crude and erroneous, and the thorough and effectual work required the co-operation of various labourers before it could be brought to a mature result. Luther, in Germany, led the way, followed by Zuinglius and Calvin; and, far from wondering that their views were in some respects mistaken and defective, we are rather disposed to wonder that they should have been so nearly right, and, in most points, so harmonious. The reformers of England had the vast advantage of being last in the field. From the commencement of Luther, in A.D. 1517, to the accession of Edward VI., in A.D. 1547, thirty years elapsed, during which they were gradually finding their way to the ground of the primitive Church, in doctrine, worship, and discipline; and several years in addition were spent before the true system of Christianity, recovered from the corrupt innovations of past ages, was prepared for the adoption of Parliament. In A.D. 1553, Edward VI. was succeeded by the bigoted and persecuting Mary, who laboured hard to overthrow their work and re-establish the old bondage of the Papacy. But the good providence of the Almighty made

use of her bloody reign to fasten the heart of the nation more strongly to the principles of the Reformation; so that when Elizabeth came to the throne, in A.D. 1558, the establishment of the pure Gospel of Christ as laid down in the Scriptures, and the system set forth by the Apostles as it existed in the primitive Church, were hailed with general joy and acclamation.

To impeach this Reformation, therefore, and persuade his readers that it was in all respects an unjustifiable and even execrable violation of the laws of religious truth and duty, is one of the great objects of Dr. Milner's book; and it must be confessed that he assails it with a dexterity and hardihood which prove him to be a master in the art of reckless vituperation. To trace him in his more important misrepresentations, and vindicate the truth of history and religion from his attacks, is a weary and ungrateful task, but one which bears its own reward in the highest sense of duty.

We proceed, therefore, to our author's mode of assigning the cause, and describing the instruments and results, of the British Reformation. And this is his statement of what he considers the commencement of the work by Henry VIII., in his eighth letter, p. 106:—"Becoming enamoured of Ann Boleyn, one of the maids of honour to the queen, and the reigning Pope refusing to sanction an adulterous marriage with her, he caused a statute to be passed abrogating the Pope's supremacy, and declaring himself the *supreme head of the Church in England.* Thus he plunged the nation into schism, and opened a way for every kind of heresy and impiety. In short, *nothing is more evident than that the king's inordinate passion, and not the Word of God, was the rule followed in this first important change of our national religion.*"

And in another place he writes,[a] "Such was his [Henry VIII.'s] doctrine, till, becoming amorous of his queen's maid of honour, Ann Boleyn, and finding the Pope conscientiously inflexible in refusing to grant him a divorce from the former, and to sanction an adulterous connection with the latter, he set himself up as Supreme head of the Church of England, and maintained his claim by the arguments of halters, knives, and axes."

Saving only the facts that the English Parliament abolished the supremacy of the Pope, and declared the king to be the supreme head of all estates in England, whether civil or ecclesiastical, this whole statement is utterly false from

[a] Letter xlvi. p. 445.

beginning to end. But to demonstrate this falsehood will require a little patient attention to the truth of history.

The real aspect of the matter is as follows: — Queen Katherine, who was the first consort of Henry VIII., was the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, and was married, from motives of state policy, to Prince Arthur, the eldest son of Henry VII., a youth of sixteen years of age, who died soon afterwards. This marriage had no issue, and King Henry VII., in order to keep up his alliance with Spain, and prevent the widow from carrying her rich jointure out of England, resolved to have her wedded to his next son, Henry. The ecclesiastical law, however, was opposed to such a union, and there was no remedy for this but the obtaining the Pope's dispensation. The Pontiff, Julius II., who was much more of a soldier and a politician than of a divine, made no difficulty about granting the king's request, and the marriage between Henry and Katherine was solemnized accordingly, while he was yet in his minority.

But the validity of the whole proceeding was denied at the time by many. Not only several of the cardinals, but also Warham, who was then Archbishop of Canterbury, and as eminent for his learning as for his office, dissented from it openly, as did others of the English bishops and divines, on the ground that the marriage of a brother's wife was forbidden by the law of God in the Book of Leviticus, and therefore the Pope had no power to give such a dispensation. These objections made the young prince uneasy, and his father also. Indeed, the king became so convinced of the unlawfulness of the marriage, that he commanded his son, in the presence of many of the nobility, to protest against it when he came of age. In compliance with his wishes, the protestation was drawn up, the prince read it himself before a public notary, June 27th, 1505, and it was lodged in the hands of Fox, the Bishop of Winchester. By this instrument, the prince declared, "that whereas he, being under age, was married to the Princess Katherine; yet now, coming to be of age, he did not confirm that marriage, but annulled it, and would not proceed in it, but intended, in full form of law, to avoid it and break it off; which he declared that he did freely, and of his own accord."[a] The affection which he had for his consort, however, induced him to postpone any further measures, until the death of his father, and his consequent accession to the crown, again brought up the question. It was debated warmly before the Council, where the

[a] Burnet's "History of the Reformation," b. 2, vol. i. p. 45 [p. 71, edit. Oxford, 1829].

majority decided that the marriage should not be dissolved. And as this decision accorded with Henry's personal feelings at the time, they were again married publicly, and both crowned soon afterwards.

This union, disputed from the first, had several issue, of which two were sons, who died at an early age, and the third was Mary, the same who was afterwards queen, and the only offspring of Henry and Katherine who came to maturity. It so happened, however, that her father, having entered into a negotiation with the King of France to marry this, his only child, either to Francis himself, or to his son, the Duke of Orleans, was struck with mortification and alarm when the Bishop of Tarbes, who was the French ambassador, objected that the Princess Mary was illegitimate, being the fruit of a marriage contracted against the divine law, from which no human authority could grant a dispensation.[a] This revived the former scruples of Henry. Those scruples were further strengthened by his favourite, Cardinal Wolsey, and by Longland, the Bishop of Lincoln, who was the king's confessor. He examined the Book of Leviticus, and found it there recorded, that if a man took his brother's wife, he shoud die childless; and he began to look upon the untimely death of his two sons as a punishment, according to this very menace, for his unlawful marriage. He read the most learned casuists, and especially Thomas Aquinas, and saw that they were against him. He then commanded the Archbishop of Canterbury to take the opinion of the bishops of England upon the question. And the result was that *all, with the solitary exception of Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, declared in writing, under their hands and seals, that the marriage was null and void from the beginning*, since the Pope, although he had full power to grant a dispensation from the laws of the Church, had no warrant to authorize the violation of the law of God, which, as they maintained, expressly forbade the taking of a brother's widow.[b]

The king being now completely convinced that the French bishop was right, and that his marriage was illegal, his next movement was to apply to the Pope, through Cardinal Wolsey, for a decree to annul it, or to grant him a divorce. For this, the arguments chiefly insisted on were the unlawfulness of the marriage, and the manifest fact that the question affected the succession of the English throne, since it was evident that the Princess Mary, if illegitimate, might

[a] Burnet's "History of the Reformation," vol. i. p. 49 [p. 74. Oxford, 1829].
[b] Ibid. vol. i. p. 50 [p. 76]. See Turner's "Modern Hist. of England," vol. ii. pp. 142—153. London, 1828.

have her title disputed, and Henry, in his present circumstances, could have no other issue. Such an application was certainly just and reasonable. We all know that Napoleon, the first French emperor, found it an easy matter to obtain a divorce from Josephine, in order that he might marry an Austrian princess, on the mere ground that he might thus have a hope of an heir to his imperial sceptre, although, in that case, there was no question as to the validity of his marriage. Why, then, should the request of Henry VIII. have met with so much difficulty? He had hitherto proved himself a devoted servant to the Papacy. He had even published a book against Luther, in return for which act of royal authorship the Pope had sent him the golden rose, which was the chief compliment to princes, and had added to his other titles the new and flattering appellation of "Defender of the Faith." How therefore, did it happen, that the Pontiff adopted a course so unaccommodating towards this his favourite son in the sixteenth century?

The answer is perfectly plain upon the face of history. Clement VII., the reigning Pope, had been engaged in a war against Charles V., the Emperor of Germany, and was actually, at the very time, a prisoner in the monarch's hands, negotiating for his own release, and for a treaty of pacification. And Charles was the nephew of Queen Katherine, and held that the honour of her powerful house was implicated in the question. Her own pride of character, and that of all her kindred, naturally revolted at the idea that her marriage should be pronounced unlawful from the beginning, thus bringing an ineffaceable stain upon her own wedded life, and through her, casting humiliation upon the majesty of Arragon. And hence the emperor was violently opposed to the course of Henry VIII., and the Pope was at the mercy of the emperor. If Katherine of Arragon had been unprotected, as was Josephine of France, or if Henry VIII. had been the virtual master of the Pope's dominions, as was the Emperor Napoleon, the question would probably have been settled in his favour at once, without the slightest prevarication.

As it was, however, the evidence is sufficiently complete that the Pope was well inclined towards Henry's application. He had effected his escape from confinement, but still felt himself obliged to temporize, delay, and evade a direct decision of the main question, from policy, lest he should provoke the resentment of Charles, and involve himself in new troubles. Nevertheless, he went very far in favour of the king's request. This is fully proved by the Papal historian, Lingard, notwithstanding the decided bias towards his Church

which is apparent through his whole elaborate work. We need hardly say, that his testimony, even to the mind of our Roman Catholic readers, ought to be conclusive. We pray, them to observe, therefore, particularly, his distinct statement, "that the Pope signed two instruments presented to him by the envoys of King Henry—the one *authorizing Cardinal Wolsey to decide the question of the divorce in England*, as the Papal legate, and the other '*granting to Henry a dispensation to marry, in the place of Katherine, any other woman whomsoever, even if she were already promised to another, or related to himself within the first degree of affinity.*'" The Pontiff further expressed his opinion in favour of this latter course in these extraordinary terms: "The king is said by some to have chosen a most circuitous route. *If he be convinced in his conscience, as he affirms, that his present marriage is null,* HE MIGHT MARRY AGAIN. *This would enable me or the legate to decide the question at once. Otherwise it is plain that by appeals, exceptions, and adjournments, the case must be protracted for many years.*"[a]

Here, then, we beg our Roman Catholic readers to mark how completely their reckless partisan, Milner, is contradicted by the Pope himself, on the clear testimony of their own historian. "Becoming enamoured," saith this favourite author, "of Ann Boleyn, one of the maids of honour of the queen, and the reigning Pope *refusing to sanction an adulterous marriage with her*," &c. But, in fact, the Pope was so far from refusing the application of Henry, that, on the contrary, he *authorized Cardinal Wolsey to decide the question of the divorce*, as the Papal legate in England, being perfectly aware at the time that Wolsey held the marriage to be invalid, and was, besides, the obsequious and devoted servant of the king. And moreover, he sent a dispensation to Henry, *allowing him to marry, in the place of Katherine, any woman whomsoever*, even if she were already promised to another! Did that look like a refusal of the Pope to sanction his marriage to Anne Boleyn?

This, however, is not the only evidence which the same Pontiff has furnished on the particular point of Milner's calumny. "It had been intimated to Pope Clement," saith the Romish historian Lingard, "that the real object of the king was to gratify the ambition of a woman who had sacrificed her honour to his passion, on condition that he should raise her to the throne. But after the perusal of a letter from Wolsey, *the Pontiff believed, or at least professed to believe, that Ann Boleyn was a lady of unimpeachable character, and*

[a] Lingard's "History of England," Dunigan's edition of 1848, vol. vi. pp. 128-9.

that the suit of Henry proceeded from sincere and conscientious scruples." [a]

Thus we have this favourite Dr. Milner presenting the action of the Pope in one light, while the Pope himself presents the very contrary! What sense of truth or decency could have governed a writer who was thus ready to blacken the character of the dead in the face of the highest testimony, if, by so doing, he thought that he could stain, directly or indirectly, the Reformed Church of England? For no ingenuity can reconcile his statements with the facts. According to Milner, the king desired the Pope to sanction an adulterous marriage: according to the Pope, the application of Henry proceeded from sincere and conscientious scruples. According to Milner, Ann Boleyn was accessory to the monarch's sin: according to the Pope, she was a lady of unimpeachable character. According to Milner, the Pope refused the request of Henry: according to Lingard, he was so far from refusing, that he authorized Cardinal Wolsey, the king's most zealous partisan, to decide the case, as Papal legate. According to Milner, the Pope would not sanction Henry's marriage with Anne Boleyn: according to the historian, the Pontiff gave him a dispensation to marry, instead of Katherine, any woman he chose, and even advised him to take that course, as the quickest and easiest mode of settling the question! How plainly does this prove that the Pontiff, at this time, felt confident of a final decision in favour of Henry, and how utterly impossible to justify his own course, if he had doubted the substantial justice and propriety of the monarch's application!

But however cordial the Pontiff may have been, the critical circumstances in which he found himself, with reference to the emperor, effectually deterred him from a firm or decided course of action. His cardinals were divided in opinion, and many of the more influential insisted that he must delay and temporize until the imperial troops should be driven out of Italy. Wolsey himself shrunk from the responsibility of deciding the question of divorce without a colleague, and requested that Cardinal Campeggio might be united with him in the Papal commission. The application was granted. After a considerable delay, Campeggio arrived. The Court opened their sessions, and the queen being summoned, refused to answer any authority below that of the Pope himself, and appealed. The cause was evoked to Rome, on the demand of the emperor, and thus three years were wasted, and the king found himself no nearer to a

[a] Ib. vol. vi. p. 133.

decision than he was at the beginning. About this time, Cranmer suggested that the opinion of the foreign universities should be taken; and as it had now become apparent that the Pope, influenced by political expediency, had changed his course, and united his interests with the emperor, Henry resolved to submit the question to the principal learned Faculties and Canonists of Europe, and abide by their decision.

The result was as follows:—The judgment of the English Bishops (all of whom, except Fisher, had affirmed, under their hands and seals, the nullity of the king's marriage with Katherine) was ratified and approved—

1. By the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.
2. By the celebrated Faculty of the Sorbonne, at Paris.
3. By the divines of Bologna.
4. By the University of Padua.
5. By the divines of Ferrara.
6. By the University of Orleans.
7. By the Faculty of Canon Law at Paris.
8. By the Faculties of the Civil and Canon Law at Angiers.
9. By the Faculty of divines at Bourges.
10. By the University of Toulouse.
11. By the most famous Jewish Rabbins. These were consulted because the question involved the construction of Leviticus, which was a portion of the Jewish law. And they all decided that the Mosaic rule, by which a man should marry his deceased brother's wife, in case there was no issue by her former husband (the main argument of the imperial party), was a *local law*, confined to Judea on account of its connection with the orginal division of the land, and therefore not operative upon the Jews who resided in any other country; while the law forbidding the marriage of a brother's wife, on the contrary, was *a general law*, which bound them everywhere.
12. And lastly; the same judgment was given, on their individual responsibility, by a large number of eminent canonists and divines in Rome itself, in Venice, and many other places.

Such being the result, the king determined at length to pursue the course advised by the Pope himself at the beginning, and married Ann Boleyn privately on the 14th day of November, 1532. But neither did this marriage, nor the consultation of the universities, nor the refusal of Henry to obey the citation of the Pontiff personally to appear at Rome, in the still pending matter of the divorce, produce, as yet, any open rupture. Hence, the Pope made no objec-

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tions against Cranmer, who was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury on the death of Warham. And the usual bull for his consecration, together with the *pallium*, was sent from Rome without delay, notwithstanding the perfect knowledge that the king's course had been prompted by this favourite counsellor's suggestions.

The declaration of the king's supremacy, however, followed soon afterwards, and annihilated, at one blow, the Papal power in England. Yet *all the English bishops consented to it*, except Fisher, the bishop of Rochester, and *all the English laymen* of eminence, except Sir Thomas More. Nor can it be censured on any ground of Scripture or of reason. Neither can it be truly denied that the act was justifiable, according to the practice of the primitive Church. To understand it rightly, however, it is necessary to advert to the state of matters under the Papacy.

For a long period prior to this assertion of the king's prerogative, the clergy enjoyed a complete immunity from the administration of secular justice. They were only amenable to the Church, and the courts of the king could not call them personally to account for any enormity. Whatever crimes they might perpetrate, whatever disorders they might commit, whatever evil example they might set before the community, they could laugh to scorn the powers of national law so long as they enjoyed the Papal favour. Not only were they thus secure in their own persons, but they were the guardians of all the villains in the land; for every church, with a certain space around it, was a sanctuary of refuge, and if the thief, the murderer, or the robber, could get within the line of its protection, the officers of justice were set at naught; and thus the priests became the standing obstacles to right, and the safeguard of the grossest iniquity. We shall see, by-and-by, the application which had been made by Henry VII. to the Pope to have this nuisance done away, and the very small success which attended his urgent petition.

Besides these evils, the supremacy of the Pope operated directly upon the wealth and the safety of the nation. Enormous sums were annually carried out of the kingdom to Rome, in the shape of Peter-pence, first-fruits, offerings, and presents, to say nothing of the frequent demands of subsidies, and the expenses of parties and witnesses who were obliged to submit to the appellate jurisdiction of the Pontiff. The prerogatives claimed by the Pope, moreover, gave him the power of filling the English sees with foreigners, and the expenses attendant upon the legatine authority were often oppressive and severe.

For all this there was not a particle of real authority in the Bible, in reason, or in the primitive Church. It was perfectly undeniable that the whole despotic system was a usurpation, which came in after the time of William the Conqueror. It was certain that the Christian bishops of the early ages were subject to the civil ruler, to the emperors and magistrates, in all the temporal relations of their lives and properties. It was demonstrable that they held the sovereign to be the supreme head of the clergy as well as of the laity in all the ordinary interests of law and justice, and that even in matters of faith, from the time of Constantine, the monarch's assent was necessary to give practical validity to the decrees of Councils. Such was the supremacy which Henry VIII. determined to reclaim: the same supremacy which was exercised by the kings of ancient Israel—the same supremacy which was exercised by the Christian emperors for more than ten centuries. And therefore he was clearly right, on every ground of argument which stands properly connected with the question.

Thus, then, we trust that we have fully disproved the assertions of Dr. Milner, in reference to the acts of Henry VIII. We have shown that the Pope did not refuse to sanction the marriage of the king with Ann Boleyn, but sent him, on the contrary, a dispensation to marry any woman whatever; that instead of the Pontiff imputing to either of them an adulterous design, he expressed himself satisfied that Henry's scruples were sincere and conscientious, and that Ann Boleyn was a lady of unimpeachable character; that instead of the *refusal of the Pope* producing the Act declaring the king's supremacy, the application for the divorce was still pending at Rome at the time when that Act was passed, and thus far the Pope had *refused* nothing, but had only put off the decision, by policy and prevarication; that instead of the king's "inordinate passion" being the cause which induced Henry to insist on his supremacy, as Milner so positively asserts, he had actually married Ann Boleyn after the judgment of the universities had been pronounced in his favour, A.D. 1532; and this marriage produced no rupture with the Pope, who showed his desire to accommodate the king by forwarding, at his request, the bull for Cranmer's consecration the year after.[a]

[a] The dates, as given by the historian Burnet, will show the course of the whole matter precisely:—

A. D. 1501, Nov. 14. Prince Arthur married Katherine of Arragon.—[Vol. i. p. 71. Edit. Oxford, 1828.]
1502, April 2. He died.—(Ib.)

But in the face of all historical evidence, Milner boldly insists that the conduct of Henry VIII. was the sole result of an adulterous attachment to Ann Boleyn. "Nothing is more evident," saith he, "than that the king's inordinate passion, and not the Word of God, was the rule followed in this first important change of our national religion." How marvellous that he could not see how such a charge, if true, rebounded against his own infallible Church! For the course of Henry was approved, 1st, by all the English bishops except Fisher; 2nd, by the Pope himself at the beginning, though two years afterwards he was gained over by the emperor; 3rd, by the foreign universities, faculties, divines, and canonists of Europe; 4th, by many of the Roman cardinals. And Henry all this time was a devoted Romanist, and all who concurred with him belonged to the same communion! Did Milner's anxiety to blacken the Reformation blind his eyes to the

A.D. 1503, Dec. 26. Pope Julius granted the bull of dispensation, in order that Prince Henry might marry the widow, and they were united accordingly.
1505, June 27. Prince Henry, by his father's command, protested against the marriage, being then of age.—[p. 71.]
1509, April 22. The old king died, advising his son to break off the marriage.—(Ib.)
,, June 3. The Council advise the contrary, and the king preferring that course, he was married again publicly.—(Ib.)
1527, April. The French king's ambassador demurs about the Princess Mary's legitimacy.—[p. 73.]
,, ,, Cardinal Wolsey and Longland, the king's confessor, revive the old scruples of the king, who examines the question for himself.—[p. 74.]
,, ,, The English bishops, except Fisher, all concur against the marriage.—[p. 76.]
,, Dec. 5. The application for the divorce sent to the Pope [p. 90], but the king's agent could not gain admission to him, as he was the emperor's prisoner [p. 94; but by corrupting some of the guards the king's demands were made known, when the Pope sent word that the dispensation should be granted.]
,, ,, 9. The Pope escapes to Orvieto.—(Ib.)
1528, January. About the beginning of the next month, the Pope signs the documents referred to by Lingard.
1529, July 25. The cause evoked to Rome.
1530, —— The Universities consulted.
1532, Nov. 14. The king married Ann Boleyn.—[p. 255.]
1533, Feb. 21. The bulls signed at Rome for Cranmer's consecration.—[p. 259.]
,, Sept. 7. Queen Elizabeth born.—[p. 271.]
1534, Mar. 20. Act abolishing the Pope's power passed in Parliament [p. 292.] King's supremacy declared.—[p. 318.]
,, ,, 23. Sentence of the Pope against the divorce in Rome.—[p. 275.]

Burnet, moreover, states expressly, that Henry "was beforehand with the Court of Rome;" that "*the Pope's power had then been for four years together much examined and disputed,*" and therefore the subject was thoroughly canvassed before the Parliament decided upon the act of abolition.—[p. 277.]

inevitable consequence of his own assertion? Did he forget that if Henry VIII. pursued his course without any just ground, and only to gratify an inordinate passion, the whole of these bishops, cardinals, divines, universities, canonists, and even the Pope himself, were guilty as his accomplices? Did he forget that all this took place several years before the Reformation? That all the actors in it were the members and the clergy of his own Church? That Henry VIII., in every point except the supremacy of the Pope in England, remained a bigoted and persecuting adherent to Romanism to his dying day? That, in fact, the true work which restored the Church of England to the privileges of the primitive apostolic faith did not begin until the accession of Edward VI., in A. D. 1547; so that thirteen years elapsed after the Act of Supremacy, in 1534, during which all the Romanists in England, save Fisher and More, submitted to Henry's dictation.

And now, although we have occupied so large a space in proving the falsehood of Milner's statements, as well for the sake of historical truth as to demonstrate the utter treachery of the guide who is so strongly recommended by Roman Catholics, yet we do not hold Henry VIII., in any proper sense, as a reformer of the Church of England. In the matter of his divorce from Katherine the general sense of Rome was with him. In the matter of his supremacy, to the exclusion of the Pope, it was not so much a point of religion as a point of government. All the bishops, save Fisher, took the new oath without scruple, and all the clergy, save the Franciscans, did the same. Hence, Fisher and More did not suffer as *heretics*, but as TRAITORS, under the Act of Parliament; and the whole charge against them was confined to the secular offence of opposing what was now the established law of the land.

We fully admit, however, that although Henry VIII. was no reformer, he was undoubtedly an instrument in the hand of God to *prepare the way* for the Reformation. To this end, he overthrew the supremacy of the Pope and the monastic system in England. As Jehu was appointed to execute the judgment of Heaven against the house of Ahab and the worshippers of Baal, and executed the task, while he was himself a friend to idolatry: so Henry was appointed to destroy the usurped power of the Pope and the superstitious influence of the monasteries, notwithstanding he was, in all things else, the friend and patron of Romanism. The Church of Christ, as planted by the Apostles, was like a noble temple, round which the hand of barbarous and wanton innovation had erected an unsightly pile, thus spoiling its effect, and

concealing its fair proportions. To tear down the walls of this, and bear away the rubbish, would be the first step towards the restoration of the original fabric. And such was the work which, in part, was assigned to Henry. The repairing and refitting the temple itself, so as to exhibit to every eye its pristine beauty, was a very different task, and was committed, in the wisdom of God, to a very different instrumentality.

We have already said that the act of Henry VIII., in abolishing the Pope's supremacy in England, and taking possession of the monasteries, produced no reformation. He may have been, as Romish writers paint him, a lustful and bloody tyrant. But with that we have nothing to do. He was bred and educated in the school of Romanism. He was even more than commonly well read in the religion of his day, and exhibited his erudition, to the admiration of the Pope and the bishops, in his book against Luther, which gained him the title of "Defender of the Faith." We doubt not that if he had continued, in all respects, an obedient son of Rome, the world would have heard very little of his cruelty or his despotism. As to the first, it was a small matter in comparison with the tortures and fiery death inflicted by the Romish Inquisition, and universally sanctioned throughout Europe previous to the Reformation. And as to the second, it did not exceed the common measure of sovereigns in that age, and for centuries before. Towards his wives his conduct was only severe when he believed them to be faithless. None of them, from Katherine of Arragon down to Katherine Parr, ever complained of his ill-treatment. The famous Charlemagne had four wives at once, and yet his name was inserted by many churches on the catalogue of saints. Louis XIV. kept mistresses constantly under the eyes of his queen, yet he was a prodigious favourite with Romish bishops and clergy. Compared with either of them, or with the ordinary list of Roman Catholic sovereign princes, Henry VIII. was a pattern of continence and decorum. With all this, it must be granted that he had an extraordinary power of gaining and keeping the affection and confidence of his subjects; so that the sole motive to which we must attribute the pre-eminence of his evil character amongst writers of the Church of Rome, must be their determination to stigmatize him because he broke the bands and yokes of Papal domination.

The true work of reformation, however, was reserved for the reign of his son, Edward VI., who came to the crown when he was only eleven years old, and died at the early age

of sixteen. Against him Milner can say nothing, save that he was a boy! But this boy was a prodigy of learning, wisdom, and piety, which we might defy the history of Europe to equal. We all know that many cases have occurred of boys, whose precocious development of intellect in mathematics, music, and dramatic skill, has astonished the oldest and most accomplished minds of their time. We all know that it has sometimes pleased the Almighty to manifest His grace to children in a manner quite as wonderful, of which the youthful Samuel, called to be a prophet at an earlier age than Edward was called to be a king, was a marked example. We even find the principle recorded in Scripture, where the Psalmist, addressing the Deity, saith: "In the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise,"—a passage which the great Redeemer rendered memorable by employing it in His stern rebuke of the Pharisees, when they found fault with the children crying in the temple, "Hosanna to the Son of David." The sneers of Milner, therefore, with respect to Edward's youth, are not merely absurd, but savour of impiety. That surprising boy was a man in intellect, and a saint in virtue. Precocious in all respects, the victim of consumption, which cut him off so soon, and which is well known to be usually connected with a premature unfolding of the reasoning faculties, his attainments and his character were the constant subjects of astonishment and delight to all around him. And as his name has thus far bid defiance to the calumny of Romanists, we doubt not that it will shine as a bright star upon the page of history long after the memory of those who mock his youth shall have sunk into oblivion.[a]

The leading men amongst the reformers who carried on the work under the patronage of their saint-like young sovereign, were Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and Hooper. And although there may be some flaws found by an ingenious and unscrupulous adversary, like Milner, in their personal consistency, yet we may safely challenge their enemies to name an equal number of English Romanists in their day who stood upon the same exalted height of Christian virtue.

We come now to another tissue of misrepresentations, which this bold and reckless advocate has crowded, with his usual skill, into a single paragraph, although it will require many paragraphs to expose their falsity. Thus he avers that "the unprincipled Duke of Somerset," who was the uncle of the youthful king, and held the highest office in the government, "pushed on the Reformation, so called, much further

[a] Burnet, "History of the Reformation," vol. iii. pp. 2, 3.

than it had yet been carried, with a view to the gratification of his own ambitious and avaricious purposes. He suppressed the remaining colleges and hospitals which the profligacy of Henry had spared, converting their revenues to his own use, and that of his associates. He forced Cranmer and the other Bishops to take out fresh commissions for governing their dioceses during his nephew's—that is to say, his own—*good pleasure*. He made a great number of important changes in the public worship by his own authority, or that of his visitors; and when he employed certain Bishops and divines in forming fresh Articles and a new Liturgy, he punished them with imprisonment if they were not obedient to his orders.[a] He even took upon him to alter their work, when sanctioned by Parliament, in compliment to the Church's greatest enemy, Calvin."—[Letter viii. pp. 106-7.]

The whole of this, however, is a mere string of misrepresentations. For, 1st, the Reformation was prosecuted vigorously, says Burnet in his history, by CRANMER, who had upon his side several of the Bishops—Holgate, of York; Holbeck, of Lincoln; Goodrick, of Ely; and, above all, Ridley, of Rochester, afterwards of London. Old Latimer was discharged from imprisonment, to which Henry VIII. had consigned him on account of his opposition to the Six Articles of the Papal doctrine which that monarch had resolved to maintain, but declined any public station, and employed himself solely in preaching the doctrines of the Reformation. Somerset was "firmly *united with Cranmer in his design*," says the same historian; but Milner's statement makes him the *leader*, instead of the Bishops, to whose office it belonged. This fabrication, therefore, was set forth by this favourite champion in order to deceive his ignorant or careless readers into the false idea that the work was the mere product of an ambitious and avaricious politician. Yet nothing can be more contrary to the truth of history.[b]

2nd. The remaining *colleges and hospitals* which Milner states to have been suppressed by Somerset, and the revenues applied to his own uses, must be an allusion, not to the act of Somerset, but to the Act of the first Parliament, which gave the CHANTRIES, COLLEGES, AND CHAPELS, to the king, to be applied "to the maintenance of grammar-schools, to the support of preachers, and the increase of vicarages."[c] This act was opposed by Cranmer and seven other Bishops; but it passed, notwithstanding. It is a manifest perversion, how-

[a] Here Dr. Milner adds as a note, "The Bishops Heath and Gardiner were both imprisoned for non-compliance."

[b] Burnet, vol. iii. p. 32.

[c] Ib. p. 60-1.

ever, to represent it as if it were the work of Somerset's single authority.

3rd. The third fabrication of Milner states, that "he *forced* Cranmer and the other Bishops to take out fresh commissions for governing their dioceses during his nephew's—that is, his own—*good pleasure*;" the truth being, that the act passed by the whole Privy Council, appointed by the will of Henry VIII., in pursuance of the course adopted during the reign of that monarch, Cranmer being one of the Council, and recommending the measure, both by precept and example, as a prudent precaution under present circumstances. But it was intended only as a temporary thing, and it was neither, as Milner asserts, the *single act of Somerset*, nor was it *forced* at all.[a]

4th. The appointment of visitors, with injunctions, the preparation of the first Book of Homilies to supply the lack of sermons to the people, the order to read publicly certain portions of Scripture, &c., were also the work of the whole Privy Council, under Cranmer's advice, and in no respect the act of Somerset's sole authority;[b] and the imprisonment of Bonner and Gardiner was rendered necessary by their resistance to these injunctions, with which all the other bishops had complied.

5th. And the last of these statements is equally untrue, that "Somerset took upon him to alter the work of the bishops, *in compliment to Calvin, the Church's greatest enemy*." What is meant by Calvin's being the greatest enemy of the Church, is indeed ambiguous. If the word Church be referred to the *Church of Rome*, the epithet may be consistent with the idea of Romanists, who suppose their Church to be incapable of improvement; but certainly quite inconsistent with those even among themselves (and there are, thank God, many such) who earnestly long to see her reformed. If, on the other hand, our author intended to say that Calvin was the greatest enemy of the *Church of England*, it is a very gross mistake; for he was in friendly correspondence with the reformers throughout. He even thought seriously of uniting all the Reformed Churches to that of England, and is reported to have proposed the measure to King Edward in a letter, which the Papal party suppressed. But it was Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and his episcopal colleagues, who were the leading persons in the whole work, according to their office; and the resolutions of the Privy Council, under the will of the late king, together with the

[a] Burnet, "History of the Reformation," vol. iii. p. 7
[b] Ib. pp. 35-7.

hearty assent of Edward himself, were the authority by which they acted in every change of the existing system.

A few specimens of this, as given by the historian Burnet, may be here set down by way of illustration. There were in the Churches some images of the blessed Trinity, in which the Father was represented sitting on the one hand, as an old man, with a triple crown, and rays about him; the Son on the other hand, as a young man, with a crown and rays; and the Blessed Virgin between them, and the emblem of the Holy Ghost, a Dove, spread over her head. And there was a great variety of other images, all which the Council resolved should be removed; and Somerset, who was the Lord Protector during the king's minority, and, by virtue of this office, the President of the Council, *wrote to Cranmer*, that *he* might give order accordingly.[a] Again, we find that *Cranmer* compiled a Catechism.[b] And again, the Parliament, A.D. 1548, in order that there might be a perfect uniformity throughout the whole kingdom, gave their sanction to the Liturgy and offices which *the king, by the advice of the Lord Protector, and the Council, had appointed the Archbishop of Canterbury, with other learned and discreet bishops and divines*, to draw up.[c] We see, therefore, throughout, the utter falsehood of the statement that the Reformation, in Edward's time, was the *work of Somerset, for his own ambitious and avaricious purposes*. And thus we have another specimen of the reckless spirit of this FAVOURITE AUTHOR.

From this tissue of misrepresentations Milner proceeds to another. "When Elizabeth came to the throne," says he, "a new Reformation, different in its Articles and Liturgy from that of Edward VI., was set on foot, and moulded, not according to Scripture, but to her orders. She deposed all the bishops except one, * * * and she required the new ones, whom she appointed, to renounce certain exercises which they declared to be agreeable to the Word of God, but which she found not to agree with her system of politics."—[Letter viii. p. 107.]

Of this set of assertions thus much is true, viz., that Elizabeth deprived every bishop save one, the reason being, that only one would consent to her coronation; and hence the rest exposed themselves to be dealt with as traitors. Under those circumstances, they should have been thankful that their lives were spared; and the notion that she should have allowed them to continue as bishops is simply ridiculous. But it is perfectly false that the Reformation, re-established

[a] Burnet, vol. iii. p. 79. [b] Ib. p. 93. [c] Ib. p. 122.

under Elizabeth, differed from that which was finally settled under Edward VI., in a single doctrine or principle. The few alterations which were made were mere matters of verbal expediency, designed to remove needless offence to the remaining Romanists, who had shown a general willingness to attend the Church, and who would doubtless have soon conformed entirely, if the Pope's excommunication of the queen, together with the strenuous efforts of Jesuit missionaries,[a] had not roused their zeal into opposition.

As to the "*exercises*" which Dr. Milner says she required the new bishops to "*renounce*," they were not exercises authorized by the bishops at any time, but were mere irregular meetings, got up among some of the laity, conducted in the Puritan style, under the name of *Prophesyings*, and of course liable, in that day, to produce disorder. Archbishop Grindal thought them likely to be edifying, or at least harmless; but most of the other bishops, as well as Elizabeth herself, were of a different opinion, and therefore he was requested to discourage them. With what propriety, then, could this be called a *renunciation* required of the new bishops? How could they *renounce* what they *never had adopted?*

These examples exhibit the character of Milner's book throughout. He seems to have been utterly incapable of writing with candour or truth, when the facts or instruments of the Reformation were in question. And there is an easy, dashing, confident air in his style of falsification, which shows him to have been a perfect master in the art. But yet his effrontery is astonishing, when we look at the contrast between the treatment of bishops under the Romish kings, and that which they received under the reformed sovereigns of England. When Charles V. seized the person of the Pope himself, and held him a prisoner—when Henry VIII. successfully insisted that all his Romish bishops should agree to abolish the Papal supremacy, and substitute his own, and suppress monasteries—when Queen Mary, instead of being content with deposing Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and Hooper, and confining them for a season, burned them alive at the stake, with more than two hundred other victims—the despotism of princely power does not draw a single remark from this determined partisan. But when Elizabeth deprives the bishops who refused to acknowledge her right to the crown, and orders Archbishop Grindal to execute his office in putting a stop to an irregular exercise of the laymen, which neither the Church nor her bishops had ever authorized—these are

[a] See Turner's "Mod. Hist. of England," vol. iv. pp. 192, 375; and Kennard's and McLachlan's "Controversial Correspondence," Lond. 1855, pp. 498, 500.

shocking proofs of the despotism which produced the Reformation! Yea, they demonstrate that the poor bishops were not allowed to have any voice at all in questions of religious doctrine or worship, but that the mere dictation of royalty regulated the whole! And yet Milner must have known that the entire preparation of the work was in the hands of the bishops, and that not a single instance can be found in which any point of doctrine or worship was changed or established, unless it was done by their express judgment and sanction.

But, to sum up the hypothesis of this favourite completely, we must quote another passage where he puts forth his view of the Reformation:—"The more strictly the subject is examined," says Dr. Milner, "the more clearly it will appear, that it was not in consequence of any investigation of the Scriptures, either public or private, that the ancient Catholic" (*i.e.* Roman) "religion was abolished, and one or other of the new Protestant religions set up, in the different northern kingdoms and states of Europe, but in consequence of the *politics of princes and statesmen, the avarice of the nobility and gentry, and the irreligion and licentiousness of the people.*" (Letter viii. pp. 107-8.) Here is the theory of the Reformation, as represented by all Romanists, with a few rare and candid exceptions. We pronounce it utterly untrue, as we could prove from the testimony of their own witnesses. We shall only for the present point out its historical absurdity, and total inconsistency with common sense and reason.

This bold and unscrupulous author assigns, as his first cause of the change, "*the politics of princes and statesmen.*" But what political motive could have influenced Luther in Germany, Zuinglius in Zurich, Calvin in Geneva and France, Cranmer in England, Knox in Scotland? Were they politicians, princes, or statesmen? What political motive could have induced those who were the rulers of those nations to quarrel with the Pope, with the emperor, with the vast internal force of the priests and monks, and with the large body of their own subjects, at the imminent risk of a fearful civil war, if they should fail to convince the majority of the people that their cause was just and righteous? What single instance can be pointed out, where the Reformation was connected, directly or indirectly, with the field of politics, with the overthrow of any existing dynasty, or with a proposed change of civil government? On the contrary, it is manifest to the slightest reflection that every motive of earthly policy must have been hostile to the effort which sought to overthrow the established religious system of all Europe. As at the beginning of the Gospel dispensation "the rulers and

kings took counsel together against the Lord and against His anointed," so it was in the great movement of the sixteenth century. And if the mighty hand of God had not roused up, in a wonderful manner, the slumbering consciences of men, the *politics of princes and statesmen* would have trampled on the preachers of His truth, and consigned them all, for the sake of temporal peace, to the flames of martyrdom.

But leaving the question of policy with respect to the other branches of the work, and confining ourselves to our proper field of the Reformation in England, we ask for the evidence that this could have been carried forward by such a motive. What earthly interest could have prevailed on Henry VIII. to cast off the Pope's supremacy in the year 1534? Was it the privilege of marrying Anne Boleyn? The Pope had given him a dispensation, and even advised him to take any woman he pleased, and he had actually married her two years before. Was it the wealth to be derived from the suppression of the monasteries? The Pope had granted his bull to Cardinal Wolsey for this very act, and there was no obstacle in the way of the king's good pleasure. Was it to stop the drain by which the Papal exactions and subsidies drew off so much of the wealth of England? This could have been effected by act of Parliament, without any difficulty. No earthly policy, therefore, can possibly account for Henry's course. It was the work of Divine Providence, who raised up this man of energy and passion to prepare the way for the restoration of His truth, in mercy to mankind.

And where is the argument derived from the politics of princes and statesmen, in the genuine Reformation established under Edward VI. by Cranmer, Ridley, and their colleagues? The body of the whole nation was devoted [externally] to all the doctrines and practices of Romanism, which Henry VIII. had left, saving the Papal supremacy, in their full vigour. The worship of the Virgin and the saints, of images and relics, purgatory, priestly celibacy, transubstantiation, communion in one kind, masses for the dead,—all was there, and all defended by the strongest arguments of positive law, and vested rights, and worldly expediency. Moreover, Edward VI. was in his minority, and the main powers of government rested, until he should be of age, in the Council, to whom the will of Henry had committed them. Was this a time which the *politics of princes and statesmen* would choose for such an undertaking? Or could the whole range of earthly policy point out a single advantage to be gained by such an effort? When, since the world began, did it ever enter the head of a politician, that a direct assault upon the established religion of a nation was the most likely way to advance his temporal

power? Most absurd and preposterous, therefore, is the attempt to account for the facts by an hypothesis like this. It was the work of God, and He raised up His chosen instruments to accomplish it, not by earthly policy, but in the face of it.

Equally manifest it is that Cranmer and his colleagues had nothing to gain, of this world's treasures, by venturing their all in such a cause. What interest had they in reducing to the Scriptural standard the inordinate privileges of their own order? Was it the desire, as the Romanists would tell us, of having a wife? The Church of Rome was far more liberal than the Reformed Church of England has ever been in allowing the pleasures of female intercourse to her clergy, provided only that it was not in the lawful way of marriage.* Was it the enlargement of their official power? The Reformation did not enlarge, but diminished it. Was it the increase of their wealth? The Reformation dried up many of the old sources of priestly profit, and did not open a single new one to replace them. Under the rule of Romanism, they might look forward to the princely rank of the cardinals, the rich rewards of legatine authority, or even the splendid majesty of the Papal throne. And the Reformation cut off all these dazzling prizes of ambition, with no earthly hope of a higher advancement before them. How plain, therefore, the result, that their motives must needs have been derived from the spiritual power of the faith, which not only purifies the heart, but overcomes the world!

And surely the argument loses nothing of its force, when we come to the reign of Elizabeth. For the cause of the Reformation seemed hopelessly lost under the reign of her predecessor, Mary. The Pope was reinstated in his old prerogatives. Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, and more than two hundred others, had endured the agonies of a fiery martyrdom. The Parliament had submitted the whole nation to the Roman yoke, and the general acquiescence proved, to all appearance, that the people, at heart, had received but little benefit from the measures adopted in the reign of Edward, and were rather disposed to be content with their old attractive superstition. On what ground, therefore, under these circumstances, could the *policy of princes and statesmen* rest the attempt to re-establish the Reformation? What argument of worldly wisdom could induce Elizabeth to incur the Papal sentence of deposition, which the immense resources of Philip of Spain stood prepared to make effectual? What advantage could she reap from embroiling herself with her

* See Fleury's "Hist. Eccl. Cont." tom. xxiii. p. 17.

subjects, especially as the decision of the Pope, in the case of her father's marriage to Katherine of Arragon, made her of necessity illegitimate, and she might be sure that this defect in her title to the throne would be urged against her, if she excited the hostility of Rome?

This consideration alone must have determined her to do nothing in favour of the Reformation, if she had really been disposed to settle the choice of her religion by *the policy of princes*. Our readers will not fail to remember how one of Elizabeth's contemporaries, Henry IV. of France, abjured the Protestant Church in which he was educated, and became a Romanist, in order that he might put at end to the civil war in which a powerful Papal faction had involved him. Much more might Elizabeth, who had been brought up by Henry VIII., and found the kingdom fully committed to Rome, have held that her safety required her to favour no change in the existing system. So manifest, indeed, in every point of view, is the absurdity of Milner's hypothesis, that it is impossible to account for his venturing to palm it upon the merest tyros in English history, if he had not already learned, by experience and observation, that any falsehood, well told and firmly adhered to, will gain some belief from the easy credulity of mankind.

The next motive assigned by this favourite author, which induced Elizabeth to re-establish the Reformation, is "*the avarice of the nobility and gentry.*" But how could that argument apply, when there were no more monasteries to suppress, and no more abbey-lands to surrender? It is admitted, on all hands, that this part of the work was done by Henry VIII., under the Papal sanction, and the remaining chantries, colleges, and chapels, were swept away by act of Parliament, in the reign of Edward. It is also unquestionable that when the nation returned to Romanism in the reign of Mary, the titles of those who had come into possession of what had formerly been Church property, were all solemnly confirmed. On what, then, was the avarice of the nobility and gentry to speculate? At no period, indeed, could such an inducement have produced a religious change, because the retention of these lands might have been secured just as easily, without renouncing Romanism. Many monasteries have been suppressed in France and Spain, although those countries still continued wedded to the Papal system. But the allegation loses even the semblance of support from history in the time of Elizabeth, although that is the very point where proof is most necessary to sustain the statement of Dr. Milner.

The last reason which Milner assigns for the Reformation, is "*the irreligion and licentiousness of the people.*" He does not seem to have reflected upon the evidence thus given by himself, to the results of the Romish system. For here, he is speaking of the *causes* which produced the change in the national faith; namely, "*the politics of princes and statesmen, the avarice of the nobility and gentry, and the irreligion and licentiousness of the people.*" And it is very certain that the *causes* of the Reformation must have been in existence before the Reformation itself. If, then, such was the fact—if the people were, as he describes them, irreligious and licentious—should not the Church of Rome take the responsibility? And does not this very admission prove, though unwittingly, that there was abundant need of a thorough reformation?

And yet it is perfectly absurd to suppose that wicked princes, and an avaricious and unprincipled nobility, and a licentious people, would ever, of themselves, seek to exchange the yoke of Romanism for the doctrines of the Bible, because the priests of Rome were far more indulgent to moral iniquity than the Word of God, and therefore an alteration like this would never have been agreeable to the lovers of transgression. Hence it is obvious that the prevailing corruption could only be assigned as the cause of the Reformation in one way; and that is the very way which we assert, and which Milner could never have consistently admitted. We doubt not that the dreadful state of Christendom was operative, in the mercy of the Most High, who raised up the instruments for the work, and gave them success, in the face of difficulties and opposition. The author takes good care to pass by the irreligion and licentiousness of the priests and monks, which exposed them to the contempt and hatred of the people. He gives no place to the knowledge of the Scriptures, which had been translated into English by Wickliffe, more than a century before, and, through the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII. and the whole of Edward's, had been allowed to be read without restraint. Light from the Word of God had thus become widely disseminated in many quarters. The doctrines of the Reformation were openly preached on the Continent, by Luther, Calvin, Zuinglius, and their followers, and with a large measure of success. A multitude of hearts and minds in England were well prepared to receive them. And therefore, when the hand of Divine Providence had opened the way, and raised up the instruments, the pure principles of religious truth were enabled to achieve the victory, not through the *policy of princes*, nor through the *licentiousness of the people*, but in despite of them.

No. XI.

"ON THE FRUITS OF SANCTITY."

Rome and the Reformation.

"PROTESTANTS are accustomed to paint in the most frightful colours the alleged depravity of the Church when Luther erected his standard."—(Letter xxi. p. 228.) So writes Dr. Milner. There is no necessity for employing Protestant testimony on this point: an orator at the Council of Trent, in the year 1546, supplies evidence, later than the commencement of Luther's campaign, and in the most unrestrained terms, as to the utterly disorganized state of the Church when under Rome's general tutelage. The plan of putting persons into conventual pens, and then exhibiting them, as fit occasion may offer, as proofs of the Church's "sanctity" is indeed needful to be adopted. "The farther I launch out into this deep," he exclaims, "wider and wider does it extend, and seems shoreless: there is no esteem put upon reason amongst us, its authority is overturned and lies prostrate; like brute beasts we are hurried on recklessly to right or wrong, without any thought of consequences, and shamelessly, just as every man lists; so that we have come at last to this, that men are *ashamed* of being good; the more licentious any one is, the more credit does he secure; fathers are imbrued in the blood of their sons; sons (O, horrible and foul deed!) in the blood of their parents; as though, O God, Thou wast asleep, or payedst no attention to the course of events, or as if the announcement of a hell was all idle talk. In former ages you might hear of one or two parricides in a century: the perpetrators of such deeds were banished society as monsters; it was then the common opinion that such beings should be lashed by the furies remorselessly. But now, what city can be mentioned that does not *abound* in such characters? Is not every place crowded with the headstrong, with the unclean, with the impure, dicers, drunkards? Cast your eyes upon *Rome*, which, placed in the centre of the nations, ought to shine as a star! Look at Italy, France, Spain—you will discover no sex, no age, no member in fact, that is not corrupted, rotten, putrid. But why enlarge; Scythians, Africans, Thracians live as cleanly, as free from flagrant vice."[a]

[a] Le Plat's "Monumentt. ad Conc. Tridentinum illustrand. Collectio," tom. i. pp. 33, 34.

Or hear, again, another eminent member of the Spanish Church, Barth. Carranza, a Dominican; and recollect that these words were addressed to the Council of Trent, March 14, 1546:—"Grievous," says he, "is it to have to repeat, O Fathers, that faith, piety, religion, have in our days become so lukewarm, or rather have so wasted away, that scarce are there any remains of them left; and that the fervour which once animated our ancestors has so chilled down, that we are compelled, with Jeremy, to say:—*From the daughter of Sion all her beauty is departed: her princes are become like rams that find no pastures; and they are gone away without strength before the face of the pursuer.... The enemies have seen her, and have mocked at her sabbaths.*—Lament. i. 6, 7 [Douay version]. The rules, moreover, and regulations enjoined to be observed by our ancestors are now left unregarded; the transgressors of divine law, the despisers of ecclesiastical rules, stalk abroad, with head all aloft; faith, as regards a large portion of our world, is extinct, and the little that does manifest itself is so faint that scarcely any true marks of it are discernible. Love is everywhere gone cold—abuses increase on every side; yea, abuses follow hard one upon another, and men's minds are so bound down by perversions and wickedness that a separation is almost impossible."[a]

Then take the lamentations of the theological faculty of Louvain, addressed to Philip II. of Spain, some years later (May, 1558):—

"But in order to provide for the well-being of the residue of the Church, and that the pious may not have reason for grieving and mourning over such abominable and scandalous offences, and that not of ordinary individuals, but among those of rank; we consider that there is a pressing necessity for an entire and determined reform of *morals;* that neither avarice be longer suffered to lord it almost uncontrolled over the Church, so that from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot there is no soundness in it; everything consequently, both sacred and profane, being publicly put up for sale, and laws, excellently framed and altogether necessary, being everywhere set aside for money's sake; nor that an impure and debauched life be permitted any longer to disgrace the Church, the priests who wait upon the Lord, and offer up the holy mass, going through their duties with great indifference and want of propriety; living most disgracefully, just as if they were married, with their

[a] Idem, ibid. pp. 60, 61; "Concilia studio Labbei," tom. xiv. col. 1839. Paris, 1671.

concubines and children; while, at the same time, monks and nuns break the vows they have taken, and live full wantonly.[a] Then again the patrimony of the Church is shamefully wasted in worldly pomp, grand entertainments, dress, building palaces, playing at cards, in buying dogs and birds, and hiring jugglers and buffoons; the poor—the members and heirs of Christ—being in the mean while left to starve: these and similar evils we are of opinion ought to receive immediate correction."[b]

Then, towards the close of the Council, in 1562, the same lamentation as to the degraded state, to which the Church, proclaiming itself to be "holy, Catholic, Apostolic," had abandoned its unhappy subjects, and, what is more, sunk itself with them, are dwelt upon; and a contrast drawn, little in favour of Romish assumptions of an undoubted superiority over the Reformed Church.

"What, then," asks Lewis M. Gravina,[c] "was the object of our predecessors, our fathers, those heroes of our Church, from whom we have so sadly degenerated, whose time-honoured praises we have worn away by our evil deeds, to whom we are indeed a disgrace: what did those holy men, I say, design in planting and cultivating the vineyard of the Lord? what did they? Why, this was their sole object, not to be seeking their own profit, but the things which are Jesus Christ's. This was their grand aim, not to be pleasing men, but God. They were ambitious not of honours, but of toil; did not look to be masters, but ministers; they were lords not of mere animals, but of souls; supervisors not of wealth, but of men. They did, indeed, abound in wealth, but were poor in vice; they found their pleasures in de-

[a] The inhuman Church is *herself* the cause of these offences. In his "Letters to a Prebendary," No. V. (p. 149, edit. Derby, 1843), Dr. Milner affirms that an epistle of Erasmus, addressed to a Carthusian monk, is quoted by Surius [Commentarius rerum gest. ab anno 1500; p. 290, edit. Colon. 1586], describing "in the most odious colours the profligacy of the apostate and married priests, who overran Germany." Now, considering the very liberal expression of sentiment, appearing in the huge collection of the Epistles of Erasmus, as regards *monks* (see col. 1227, edit. Lug. Bat. 1706, for instance), a *manuscript* letter merely, and to some unknown correspondent (for such is the "Epistle" relied upon), can weigh but little; and if placed in the scale against the descriptions given in public and before public assemblies of the anything but sacrosanct behaviour of adherents of the "holy Catholic Roman Church," about the same period, what can it avail? And if the "profligacy of married priests" were so "odious" as to make the writer sigh for the peaceful abode of the Carthusian, what "boundless contiguity of shade" must he have panted for, to escape, and for good, from the profligacy of his own "unmarried" monks and nuns here depicted. How unsuccessful are Rome's efforts to maintain the supremacy which she is constantly reaching after, in *every* thing.

[b] Le Plat's "Monumentorum ad Hist. Concil. Trident. illustr. Collectio," tom. iv. 611.

[c] Concilia studio Labbei, tom. xiv. col. 1862-63. Paris, 1671.

serving well, not in worldly wealth; in the clothing of their minds, not of their bodies; they busied themselves in tending not their horses and dogs, but the poor and needy; they did not merely glitter before the world, they were truly *ministers of Christ and dispensers of the mysteries of God.* . . . . . But, oh, how truly wretched is the condition of *our* time!—and what other reason can be given for evils such as these, such calamities and such changes, than that we have administered this office so differently from our ancestors? what other cause be assigned than that we have altogether abandoned the course which our fathers trod? . . . . The Church would still, however, have maintained her position and authority, if the exercises of true piety, the admirable pursuits of true religion, upon which it had been founded and established, and also been widely extended, had not been relaxed, and then cast aside. For now, in a total corruption of *morals*, and with true religion, as regards the generality, utterly lost, what wonder is it if Christians, caught on every aide by varied attractions, have sunk from their high estate? if the greater part of them have foundered? and the remainder are anything but water-tight?"

"I adduced," says the honest Doctor—by the help probably of Brerely, in whose books heaps of such matter have long been shovelled together—"the testimony not only of Erasmus and other Catholics, but also of the Reformers themselves, in proof that the morals of the people, so far from being changed for the better by embracing the new religion, were greatly changed for the worse."[a] The work in which these evidences are collected, is the "Letters to a Prebendary."[b] They consist mainly of just such lamentations as might be obtained by even moderate inquirers, acquainted with the population of a country, at almost any period—such as confession-receivers could predicate of any papally-ruled region down to the present day. But will the Church of Rome shine by contrast, especially at that period, when the management of the population was under her own more complete control, and the light of her ministrations shed its rays free from the pestilential vapours raised up by intrusive Reformers, at a time when, it is asserted, but for the desolations caused by Luther and his contemporaries, the same peaceful[c] reign of righteousness and truth would have continued to bless the earth to the present day?

With the passages to which we have alluded, Dr. Milner,

[a] Letter xxi. p. 229. [b] No. V. pp. 147-50, edit. Derby, 1843.

[c] Miss Read states in her "Six Months in a Convent" (p. 10, edit. Edinb. 1835), that on visiting Mrs. G.'s (a Romanist's), she saw a fine drawing,

and similar writers from the days of the Reformation downward, have pleased themselves in the quoting, supposing that they had the evidence of the founders of the Reformation themselves in testimony of the evil effects of that grand revolution. The regrets of Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, and others, are marshalled out, as if to be classed amongst admissions and confessions; but just letting these passages be viewed in that light, what shall we say to the avowed confessions and lamentations of members of the Church of Rome; as, for instance, of *Antonio Marinari*, the Carmelite (Dec. 20, 1545), one of those with whose addresses the Council of Trent was opened:—"Now," says he, "the Church is limited to a corner of Europe, and where Christ was once in the highest honour, there is he despised.[a] And that no description of assault should be wanting on every hand, foes of our own household have sprung up, assailing even this poor reduced Church, laid open as it is to the hatred and attacks of the infidels: some pastors are asleep, or are mere mercenaries (to say nothing worse); then there are princes engaged in furious war, and in gratifying their insatiable ambition: many doctors teach but with the mouth; very many, who profess a more spiritual life than ordinary, are filling every place with *scandal;* men and women of every age, exhibiting the character of heathens and Turks rather than that of Christians; and what is most injurious, so many ministers of Satan transfigured into angels of light, who despise, reject, and in fact abominate, the laws of their country, the approved opinions of the Fathers, the customs of Christian society, the sacraments, and, in short, everything holy."[b]

Then, again, hear the *confessions* of Cor. Martirani, Bishop of St. Marco[c] (Jan. 7, 1546), long subsequent to the period at which the Reformation commenced, and when the dominant Church had had the general population under its own peculiar teaching. "There are two points," says he, "most honourable Fathers, wherein especially the state of Christendom is grievously suffering—religion and morals; and unless some remedy is applied, and that speedily, you will have them falling into utter ruin: there is yet remaining some little light; we have not as yet sunk irrecoverably—but delay, and all things will revert to a state of 'chaos

exhibiting the peaceful and flourishing condition of the Church until the Reformation under Martin Luther.

[a] Alluding probably to the countries overrun by Mahomet and his disciples.

[b] Le Plat's "Monumentt. ad Conc. Trid. illustraud. Collectio," tom. i. p. 30. Concilia studio Labbei, tom. xiv. col. 1005. Paris, 1671.

[c] See the list of prelates who attended at Trent, in the sixth volume of Pallavicino's "Istoria del Concil. di Trento." Faenza, 1797.

and ancient night.' For, to refer in the first place to *morals*, nothing can be plainer than that the *morality* and discipline of Churchmen are so degraded, that there is nothing worse for posterity to venture upon or invent—if people are disposed to be wicked, it is impossible they can sink lower than the men of the present generation. For what conceivable crime is there so atrocious, so outrageous and monstrous, in which this adulterous and sinful generation is not wallowing. Look at their cupidity, cruelty, and general licentiousness! Do not rapine, plunderings, sacrileges, abound everywhere? Do not churches, courts, cities, villages, resound aloud with horrid curses and oaths? And as if it argued a want of manliness and courage, Heaven itself is daringly assailed, and that daily, with every kind of blasphemy; so that I am astonished that we are not struck with the thunderbolts of Heaven. When were poisonings and stabbings[a] more common? and who is secure, whether among the priesthood or laity, from assassins? Before the very altars, during the performance of mass itself, are men stabbed and murdered: our very confidants—such is the thirst for gold—murder us in our bedrooms: in cheating one another, in waylaying one another, in slaughtering one another, we fairly revel [*perbacchamur*]; impure, vicious, rapacious, without common humanity, to whom cruelty is amusement, thievery is a mere joke, shedding blood mere sport: indeed, it is impossible to mention all our ways and descriptions of sinning. The farther I launch out into this sea, the wider it extends, and seems shoreless," &c. And thus this bishop of this "Holy Catholic Church" (as imagined) testifies; next bringing before his auditors in Council assembled the Holy City, Rome herself, and declaring its bishops—why should he not?—to be the cause and origin of all evil; and as regarded Italy, France, Spain, affirming the corruption to be universal; bidding the Fathers in Council assembled, unless utterly stupid (*nisi plumbei estis*), to rouse themselves to effect some alteration in a state of affairs so deplorable in the vineyard of the Church,—if it be, indeed, a vineyard, and not a lair of wild beasts.[b]

[a] This crime bears its glory in Rome even now; see below.

[b] Le Plat's "Monumentt. ad Conc. Trid. illustrand. Collectio," tom. i. pp. 33, 34, 38. With regard to the letter of *Erasmus* written to the men of Strasburgh, in 1529, and from which Surius ("Commentarius brevis rerum gestarum ab an. 1500;" Colon. 1586, p. 181) thinks that Sleidan would have cited more largely had it been in favour of the Reformed Churches, which is doubtless probable, and would have been nothing wonderful; *Jortin* remarks: "The good man (Erasmus) did not consider that if he had been seized himself as a heretic, and the monks had sat in judgment upon him, he would infallibly have been pronounced one of the heretics who deserves death. This treatise [the letter from which Dr. M. has quoted] is written with great acrimony, and the system of religious politics which it contains is

Such was the state of an ecclesiastical institution which had contrived to make itself dominant by the same means as are now employed to keep it in existence; and for which its sworn adherents of the present day demand an eminent "moral" superiority, especially in the days of Luther, Calvin, Cranmer, and Knox, on the score of being "Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic;" but over which one of her own bishops, with more honesty and wisdom, mourned, as sunk in depravity, as having reached the lowest depths of vice, as raging in iniquity, as unapproachable in wickedness! "The appearance of the Gospel [viz., the Reformation]" was not needed to "drive piety out of the world," as Dr. Milner would have Luther confess it had! (Letters to a Prebendary, No. V. p. 147, edit. 1843). The modern writers who circulate and recommend Dr. Milner's works, and rely thus fully on the *Protestant* testimony of the Lutheran period, may please to accept, from a similar hand, "another statement in illustration of the little effect of Popery upon a people who receive it, in civilizing and Christianizing them. There is on the St. Lawrence, and in sight of Montreal, an Indian village, containing a fraction of a once powerful tribe, famous for its daring and cruelty in the old Indian wars. They speak the French language—they are all Papists—they have a fine stone church—they go to mass on Sunday morning—they are regular in their attendance at the confession-box, and yet they are as thoroughly Indian now as they were before they ever saw a pale face. They spend the afternoon of Sabbath at their old Indian games and sports, in which their priest is generally their leader. They are ignorant, degraded—they wear their old costume, and are intemperate. An intelligent French Canadian said to me, 'They are good Catholics, they go to mass on Sunday morning, then go to their sports on Sunday afternoon, and you ought to go over and see them at them. In the fall of the year we make them join the Temperance Society, and they keep the pledge as long as they can get no money to buy whiskey. But when the ice breaks away, and they can make money by piloting the rafts over the rapids, they break their pledge, and they all get drunk.' And there are those Indians, who are entirely French in language and religion, and good Papists, with their own resident priest, and at as low a point in the scale of civilization as

good for nothing."—(Life of Erasmus, vol. i. 435, edit. 1808.) The single quotation made by Surius (why did he not himself enlarge the quotation?) shows the soundness of this judgment upon the Letter: "Et nihil quidem verius dixit Erasmus, quam ex istis novatoribus nullum meliorem, omnes deteriores esse factos;" an opinion as disgraceful to the utterer, as suitable to the quoter, a Carthusian monk.—See Erasmi Epistolæ, col. 1227, edit. Lug. Bat. 1706; and Waddington's "Hist. of the Reformation," ii. 192.

when the priests first went among them to teach them the religion of God! And such is the uniform testimony as to the effect of Papal missions upon heathen and savage tribes. They baptize them—they teach them to say prayers to the saints and the Virgin—they fill their minds with superstitious fears; but they neither educate, civilize, nor Christianize them. There are districts in India, Dr. Duff being witness, where Papal priests have been manipulating the people for 300 years, and yet they are as ignorant of the religion of Christ as the heathens around them. But why need we wonder at the state of the Indians on the rivers of Canada, or at that of the tribes in India or China, when Ireland at home, and its children in all their dispersion, proclaim the utter worthlessness of Popery as an institution for civilizing and Christianizing the race."[a]

Among the passages selected to prove the inefficiency of Protestant reform, one from Calvin's treatise "De Scandalis," ranks as a particular favourite; but from the style of reference, "l. vi. De Scandalis," the citators owe their reference, it would seem, to Mr. Scavenger Brerely, or to some of his successors. We find it in "Dr. Milner's Letters to a Prebendary;"[b] in Lingard's "Tracts;"[c] in Pastorini's "General History of the Christian Church;"[d] and, almost as a matter of course, among a heap of similar quotations in the "Hammersmith Discussion,"[e] and is doubtless to be found in scores of other Romish publications. The passage upon which so much value is put occurs in p. 71 of the Amsterdam edition of Calvin's "Theological Tracts," 1667, p. 71; and in the translations furnished for their readers all the citators make it a positive object, with these perverters of the freedom opened to them by the Reformation, to give themselves up to licentiousness without any restraint. "What else did the greater part *pretend* to?" as Drs. Walmsley, Lingard, and Milner put it; whereas Calvin represents them as so acting *as if* the main point with them was to avail themselves of better opportunities for all licentiousness. They had them already, in the very choice society of Rome; more laxity would seem to be aimed at in Protestant freedom from the martinets of Rome. This, it is not improbable, was to some extent the case: the same mode of action, and in Papal countries too, is discernible at the present day. Opposition to Rome is in many cases almost confined to a dislike of the ceaseless prying of Jesuit and other agencies of Rome,[f] and annoyance at being DRIVEN to engage in services incessantly,

[a] Kirwan, in "The Record," Nov. 16, 1855.
[b] P. 148, ed. Derby, 1843.
[c] P. 169, ed. Dublin, 1822.
[d] P. 229, ed. 1798.
[e] P. 621, ed. 1852.
[f] See Michelet's Works.

about which they care but little, and in which they can find no pleasure, and in which no interest is created except occasionally on the score of *opposition* and to *outshine* the poor heretics. Hence a wide-spread desire of casting off the yoke, in order mainly to avail themselves of the benefits of civil society, such as is afforded in Protestant countries. There is nothing very wonderful in all this: let the ordinary members of the Church of Rome have the same opportunities (or anything approaching to it) that other churches afford for individuals to leave their former communion, and the desertions would prove not unfrequently utter desolation to Rome; not probably under a desire in many cases of better teaching, but of simple indifference.

But how stands the case with Rome and her internal proceedings? Are there no *scandals* there? Does this very treatise of Calvin intimate any superiority in that church, as if men would improve themselves by *going back* to her, and seeking once more the privileges of that severe sect? Is there any indication that the licentious behaviour so painful to the reformer was, or was likely to be, any offence in Rome? Nothing of the kind! Calvin knew that the direct contrary was the truth; and that, as Sir Edwin Sandys says,[a] "with respective attendance of her pleasure, no law almost of God or nature so sacred, which one way or other they find not means to dispense with, or at leastwise permit the breach of, by connivance, and without disturbance."[b]

The same charges, and in more than twofold measure, might be meted out to Rome, and on the very points in which she judges adherents of the Reformed Churches to be so peculiarly reprehensible. There is no reason to fear any comparison with Rome on that score: in licentiousness of living, discords, and above all the abominations of monkery; in idleness, quarrelling, perfidiousness, absence of bare humanity,[c]

[a] "Survey of State of Religion," p. 40, ed. 1687.

[b] The Bavarian envoy, at the Council of Trent, in 1562, declared "That Bavaria was overrun with heresy of every description, that the contagion was not confined to the lower orders, but had seized the nobility and middle ranks, so that scarcely a city or town was uninfected. He affirmed that the evil was *greatly aggravated* by the shameful conduct of the clergy, great numbers of whom indulged in gluttony, drunkenness, and *all kinds of vice*, as if in open contempt of God and man, and lived in flagrant violation of their vows of chastity," &c.—Le Plat, vol. v. 338; Cramp's "Text-book of Popery," p. 284, edit. 1851.

[c] This state of being "lost to the feelings of human nature," is one of the consequences which Erasmus is quoted, in "Letters to a Prebendary" (p. 148), to show followed the becoming an "Evangelical." It flourished, however, under Papal rule; see *suprà*, p. 118, note. In the selections which Dr. M. has made from the writings of Erasmus (p. 148), in order to discredit the Reformer, is one from which, besides giving a false reference, he has omitted a sentence of some little consequence, showing that the offences, which Erasmus conceived chargeable upon the Lutherans, were just as rife among the

&c. &c., she far eclipsed any evil proceedings amongst the easy members of Protestant communities: in the one case the proceedings were a scandal to the community to which the individuals professed to belong; in the other money was made of them, seeing that "where there is muck, there is money," in spirituals as in temporals. But can the offences have been considered as any *scandal* by the dominant priesthood? As Calvin argues (p. 86), there was no great necessity for persons to join the Reformed Church in order to escape (as was imagined) from the *severity* of Papal discipline. The *austerity* of that church offered no check to intemperate living of any description; they might eat and drink, and be recklessly dissolute all the year round, if only it was all cleared off by confession and cash. The attempt to recommend the Church of Rome for its Spartan discipline, and to lower the Lutheran and Genevan Churches for alleged laxity as to moral teaching, Calvin affirms —and he knew them well—to be truly ridiculous; and mentions as a pretty conclusive proof the vexation of parties who had joined those communities, at finding themselves cut off, or at all events checked in, the enjoyment of their former "liberty;" and as for the great body of the clergy, the masters of the people and their authorized instructors, "vasta lacuna est" (he asserts) "omne genus scelerum," poisoning whole neighbourhoods! — a very natural consequence of Rome's disciplinary rule of celibacy, and her doctrines of penance, of indulgences, of confession, &c. &c.

Could people well "become worse" in such a church as this, and be any proper *scandal* to it? The testimonies before cited as to the *moral* condition of the Papally taught population were given, it should be observed, just about the time

so-called Catholics: "Circumspice populum illum evangelicum, et observa num minus illic indulgeatur luxui, libidini, et pecuniæ, quam faciunt ii quos detestamini."—(Opera, tom. ix. p. 1296, ed. 1540.) The latter sentence Dr. M. has thought better dropped; and well (in one view) he might, intimating, as it does, that those under Papal instruction were as much given to pleasure, licentiousness, and money-making, as those whom the writer terms Evangelicals. And the concession has been made even in the present day, of the liability of the *chiefs* of the system to sin, and that there is no proud superiority to be claimed on the above grounds even in their *holinesses*. "There is no article of the Catholic [Romish] faith which teaches that Popes are either immaculate or infallible. Sinners like ourselves [!!], they have been even deposed by that Church of which they formed the head." So M. Gandolphy, a priest, overcome by evidence, instructed his London flock (see his "Sermons," 1814, vol. ii. 321-2), and correctly enough. But the supervisors thought such honest announcements not exactly the thing: the flock probably felt rather queer at this descent of their *Holinesses*, and their becoming "one of us;" and accordingly, in *approved* copies of the "Sermons," this sentence is placed among *errata*—a revised judgment mounts his holiness in the clouds again, and there he is set to reign in the foggy majesty of *ex-cathedral* infallibility. Gregory XVI. used to get drunk two or three times a week;—see Nicoline's "Hist. of the Pontificate of Pius IX.," p. 6.

of Luther's death, and some twenty years subsequently; when, as the Bishop of St. Marco affirms, it was impossible that any future sinners could outmatch those of his day; and that the Church of Rome was herself the grand *cause* of the horrible state of morals—not Luther, nor Calvin, nor their teachings! How can the crimes, which raised the indignation and lamentations of Luther, and the other "patriarchs" of the Reformation, be otherwise now used by Rome than as a convenient tool to damage that interest, when she herself at the present day can argue for their allowance, and under consideration easily tolerate them! But perhaps the so-called "old religion"—being of course older now than in the days of Luther and Calvin, &c.—exhibits its effects upon the populations of the world all the more brightly from having got rid of those deformationists, and especially at the fountain-head. Let us see. The Dublin *Daily Express* gives, in a recent impression, the following appalling picture of the immorality of the Eternal City itself:—

Few persons have an idea of the immense apparatus that exists at *Rome* for the spiritual training of the citizens. The whole of the Papal States contain rather more than three millions of inhabitants, and yet in the city of Rome itself, according to the statistical returns made by the Vicar-general, there are 36 bishops, 1,226 secular priests, 2,213 monks, 1,919 nuns, 689 seminarists, making a total of 6,083 ecclesiastics and *religious*, all devoted by profession to the spiritual edification of the people of this one city. The population of Rome is only 177,500, while that of Dublin is 258,361. Imagine the Irish metropolis, though much larger than Rome, blessed with thirty prelates like Dr. Cullen! Rome certainly ought to merit the epithet *holy*, as she has a spiritual teacher of some kind for every twenty-five inhabitants, including the children.

This vast amount of spiritual agency has everything to aid and facilitate its action in *Rome*, because the civil power is all in the hands of the clergy. Every possible condition, therefore, requisite for the full development and complete effect of the Roman religion, is there present. It ought, consequently, to be a perfect paradise—a model farm of intellectual, industrial, and spiritual husbandry. Of all the cities that ever existed, Rome ought to be the most free from ignorance, vice, and crime.

Let us see, then, whether the Church of *Rome*, favoured as it is, possesses what Roman doctrines teach is one of the marks of the true Church—*sanctity*. There is one crime which above all others indicates the moral condition of any country. It is the first that was committed by man, and it

is the foulest that man can commit. That crime is murder. Should we not infer that this crime was altogether unknown in the Holy City? Would it not be a fair conclusion from the premises we have laid down, that there should be no crime in Rome at all—no violence, no bloodshed, no robbery, no theft; that there should be no need for police, or prisons, or courts of justice, or any species of carnal coercion and temporal punishment? Most certainly it would.

But how stands the case? The following table shows the number of prisoners in the Roman States during a period of five years:—

In 1850 ..... 10,436 persons.	In 1853 ..... 12,035 persons.
In 1851 ..... 11,279 „	In 1854 ..... 13,006 „
In 1852 ..... 11,767 „	

Thus it appears there has been a steady increase in the number of prisoners, indicating an increase of discontent, misery, and crime among the people. The statistics of crime do not include the numerous bands of brigands who infest the road and elude the police. Of the total number of criminals in the Roman prisons, *one-third* were guilty of the crime of *murder;* that is, there was one murderer in every 750 of the population. Compare this with an "heretical" country, Scotland, where there is one murderer only in every 270,000 of the population. How suggestive is this contrast!

Murder prevails to a fearful extent in Rome. It is the greatest of all crimes, and it seems to be attended with the most impunity and the least infamy. Every church is a sanctuary for the assassin, where he may abide in safety. Other criminals are reviled as thieves and rascals; but the murderer is comparatively honourable, and is distinguished from viler offenders by his prison dress. If you ask why, the answer is, "Oh, sir! he was only guilty of the *colpo di stiletto.*" The honourable man treacherously inflicted a mortal stab on his neighbour. That is all.[a]

No. XII.

THE POPE'S SUPREMACY.

SEC. I.—On the Temporal and Spiritual Supremacy.

THE discussion of the question of the Pope's supremacy at the present day can only be compared to a man fighting

[a] The "Achill Herald," 1856, p. 68; and for the state of affairs in England by one who knew and lived amongst them, just prior to or about Mr. Brerely's days, see White's "Way to the True Church," sec. 38, 1, p. 210, edit. 1616.

with a shadow. Whatever power the Popes arrogated to themselves, and indeed enjoyed, in the middle ages, it is very clear that they were not possessed of any such dominion in the early days of the Christian Church, nor at the present time.

In direct opposition to his general opinions and disposition, Dr. Milner disclaims for the Pope all "civil and temporal supremacy, by virtue of which he can depose princes, or give or take away the property of other persons out of his own domain." —(Letter xlvi. p. 434.) It is true, he admits, that different Popes in former ages have assumed arbitrary temporal power, and that such powers have been defended by various theologians, "*though not as a matter of faith.*" This may be merely the temporary *opinion* of a private doctor, adopted for a purpose, for Baronius, the Roman chronicler, says, "that there can be no doubt of it, but that the civil headship is subject to the sacerdotal," and "that GOD hath made the political governor subject to the head of the Spiritual Church;"[a] and accordingly Pope Boniface by decree, as recorded, and now extant, in the Canon Law of the Roman Church, said, "We declare, say, define, pronounce it to to be *necessary to salvation*, for every human creature to be subject to the Roman Pontiff."[b] That which is here claimed refers to *temporal* as well as *spiritual* supremacy; for this Pope goes on in the same decree to declare that "the one sword must be under the other, and the temporal authority must be subject to the spiritual power—hence, if the earthly power go astray, it must be judged by the spiritual;" and all this he pretends to prove by the authority of the Scriptures! Again, Pope Sixtus V. issued his Bull against Henry, King of Navarre, and the Prince of Condé, "depriving them and their posterity for ever of their dominions and kingdoms." This he declares to be "God's ordinance;" and he exercised his assumed right by "the authority given to St. Peter and his successors," &c. And the Bull of excommunication against Queen Elizabeth by Pius V. begins with these words:—"He that reigneth on high, to whom is given all power in heaven and in earth, hath committed the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, out of which there is no salvation, to one alone on earth, &c., to Peter, prince of the Apostles, and to the Roman Pontiff, successor of Peter, to be governed with a plenitude

[a] Politicum Principatum Sacerdotali esse subjectum nulla potest esse dubitatio.—Baron. Annal. Ann. 57, sec. 32, tom. i. p. 453, edit. Antv. 1612. Politicum Imperium subjecit Spiritualis Ecclesiæ domino.—Ib. sec. 33.

[b] Subesse Romano Pontifici omni humanæ creaturæ declaramus, dicimus, definimus, et pronunciamus omnino esse de necessitate salutis.—Corp. Juris Canonici a Pithœo Extrav. Com., lib. i. tit. 8, cap. 1, tom. ii. Paris, 1695.

of power; this one He hath constituted prince over all nations, and all kingdoms, that he might pluck up, destroy, dissipate, ruinate, plant, and build," &c.[a] Thus, then, it is clear that this temporal power was claimed, not only by *divine right*, but "*as a matter of faith.*"

Dr. Milner, therefore, begins his chapter on "the Pope's Supremacy" with a misrepresentation.

As, however, Dr. Milner tacitly gives up this ground, and in so doing has, we must admit, exercised a wise discretion, he is nevertheless bound, on the authority of the Council of Trent and Pope Pius IV., to admit the following propositions:—

The Church of Rome is the Mother and Mistress of all Churches.

Patriarchs, primates, archbishops, bishops, and all others, are bound to pledge and profess true obedience to the sovereign Roman Pontiff.

The Pope is the Vicar of God upon Earth: and he possesses supreme authority delivered to him in the Universal Church.

The Roman Pontiff must be acknowledged and obeyed, as the successor of the blessed Peter the prince of the Apostles and the Vicar of Jesus Christ.[b]

Dr. Milner undertakes to solve the question, "Whether the Bishop of Rome, who by pre-eminence is called *Papa* (*Pope, or Father of the Faithful*),[c] is, or is not, entitled to *a* superior rank and jurisdiction above other bishops of the Christian

[a] Mag. Bullar. tom. ii. p. 324, edit. Luxemb. 1727.

[b] Ecclesia Romana, quæ omnium Ecclesiarum Mater est et Magistra.—Concil. Trident. sess. vii. de Baptism. can. iii. p. 87, edit. Antverp. 1644.

Præcipit, igitur, Sancta Synodus, Patriarchis, Primatibus, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, et omnibus aliis, ut . . . veram obedientiam Summo Romano Pontifici spondeant et profiteantur.—Ib. sess. xxv. p. 573.

Ipsius Dei in terris Vicarii.—Ib. sess. vi. p. 61.

Merito Pontifices Maximi, pro Suprema Potestate sibi in Ecclesia Universali tradita, causas aliquas criminum graviores suo potuerunt peculiari judicio reservare.—Ib. sess. xiv. p. 163.

Sanctam Catholicam et Apostolicam Romanam Ecclesiam, omnium Ecclesiarum matrem et magistram, agnosco: Romanoque Pontifici, beati Petri Apostolorum principis successori, ac Jesu Christi vicario, veram obedientiam spondeo ac juro.—Prof. Fid. Trident. ex Bull. Pap. Pii IV. Syllog. Confess. p. 5.

[c] Dr. Milner would have us infer, or the explanation is not pertinent, that that very title imports a concession of the claim. So common a book as Suicer would have told him, that so far from the appellation Πατα being appropriated to the Bishop of Rome, as Father of the Faithful, it was, down to the fifth century, assigned in common to all the bishops of the Western Churches; that even priests were called by this name; and that in the acts of the Council of Constantinople, A.D. 448, Eutyches, the heretic, is designated *Papa*. The bishops of the Greek Church are still called Popes.—"Two Main Questions Stated," &c., p. 248. Dublin, 1825.

Church, so as to be its *Spiritual Head* upon earth, and his see the centre of Catholic unity?"[a]

The question is not whether the Pope of Rome is entitled to *a* superior rank, but *the* superior dominancy claimed for him by the Council of Trent?

We must now follow Dr. Milner step by step in his "proofs" in support of this asserted supremacy.

He commences as follows:—

"Let us begin with consulting the New Testament, in order to see whether or no the first Pope or Bishop of Rome, Saint Peter, was any way superior to the other apostles."[b]

Here, in the very outset, Dr. Milner makes a leap, and at once takes for granted that St. Peter *was* the first Pope or Bishop of Rome. As this is a subject of some considerable interest, we will consider it under a distinct head, in its proper place;—but first, we must follow him in his own order, and examine the

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SEC. II.—Evidence of Pope's Supremacy derived from the New Testament.

He has to prove from the New Testament—

1. That Christ constituted St. Peter Supreme Head, both of the Universal Church, and likewise of all the other Apostles; thus erecting an absolute monarchy in the Church of which He was Founder.

2. That St. Peter was the first Pope or Diocesan Bishop of Rome.

3. That all the paramount authority, originally vested in St. Peter, has from him rightfully (and by Divine right) descended to the Roman Church and Bishop.[c]

Here again, Dr. Milner gives the real question the "go-by," by pretending that all he has to prove is, that "St. Peter was superior in any way to the other Apostles." When Dr. Milner made this statement, he must have had Barrow's "Treatise of the Supremacy" in his possession and under his consideration, for he refers to it several times. Now Barrow declares,[d] that "we may well admit that St. Peter had a primacy of worth, or that in personal accomplishments he was most eminent among the Apostles, although afterwards there did spring up one who hardly in any of these respects would yield to him; who could confidently say 'that he did not

[a] Letter xlvi. p. 437. [b] Ib. p. 437.

[c] See Faber's "Difficulties of Romanism," book i. cap. 3, p. 52, edit. London, 1853.

[d] In the "Pope's Supremacy," pp. 45-6, edit. London, 1849.

come behind the very chiefest of the Apostles;'[a] and of whom St. Ambrose said, 'Neither was Paul inferior to Peter, being well to be compared even with the first, and second to none;'[b] and St. Chrysostom, 'For what was greater than Peter, and what equal to Paul.'[c] This is the primacy which Eusebius attributeth to him, when he calleth him 'the excellent and great Apostle, who for his virtue was the prolocutor of all the rest.'"[d]

Dr. Barrow willingly ceded to St. Peter a primacy of "repute" or of "order," *i. e.* "bare dignity," imputing that commonly, in the meetings of the Apostles, they yielded to him a precedence or privilege as chairman.

But Dr. Milner has to establish the Tridentine assumption, founded, as affirmed, on divine right, provable from the New Testament.—(Letter xlvi. p. 437.)

1. "St. Matthew, in numbering up the Apostles, expressly says of him, 'The first, Simon, who is called Peter' (Matt. x. 2); in like manner the other Evangelists, while they class the rest of the Apostles differently, still give the first place to Peter (Mark iii. 16; Luke vi. 14; Acts i. 13)." It is absurd to argue for such a primacy in St. Peter as is claimed by the Church of Rome at the present day; for had there been any great object in view, this order would have been maintained, whereas such is far from being the case. John, while referring to the "call" of the Apostles, names Peter after Andrew.[e] St. Paul knew of no such distinction; in Gal. ii. 9, he writes "James, Cephas, and John, who seemed to be pillars," &c.; and again, in 1 Cor. iii. 22, "Whether Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas;" and again, in 1 Cor. ix. 5, he places Peter last. It is further worthy of remark, that in what are called the "Apostolic Constitutions" St. Paul and St. Peter are introduced jointly prescribing orders; they begin, "I, Paul, and I, Peter, do appoint."[f]

2. "St. Peter was the *first* to confess his faith in Christ (Matt. xvi. 16)," referring to Peter's acknowledgment "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God" (p. 438).

This assertion, borrowed from Bossuet, will not bear examination. There was nothing in this acknowledgment exclusively to merit Peter's promotion; for already, before him, had "*Nathanael* answered and said unto him, Rabbi, Thou art

[a] 1 Cor. xv. 20; 2 Cor. xi. 23; 2 Cor. xi. 5, xii. 11.
[b] Amb. de Sp. S. lib. ii. cap. 12, tom. iv. p. 254. Paris, 1661.
[c] Chrysostom, tom. v. Orat. 167, vol. ii. p. 568, edit. Paris, 1837.
[d] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. cap. 14, p. 46, edit. Oxon. 1845.
[e] John i. 44.
[f] Ἐγὼ Παῦλος καὶ ἐγὼ Πέτρος διατασσόμεθα. Const. Apost. lib. 8, cap. 33. Lab. Concil. tom. i. col. 498. Paris, 1671.

the Son of the true God; Thou art the King of Israel" (John i. 49). And Martha made the like confession, "I believe that Thou art the Christ, the Son of God, which should come into the world" (John xi. 27). As also did all the other Apostles: "And they that were in the ship came and worshipped him, saying, Of a truth Thou art the Son of God" (Matt. xvi. 33). Even one possessed with devils "fell down before him, and with a loud voice said, What hast Thou to do with me, Jesus, Thou Son of God Most High" (Luke viii. 28).

3. "The *first* to whom Christ appeared after his resurrection (Luke xxiv. 34)." The text cited is "The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon" (p. 438).

The word "*first*" is unwarrantably added; but how is the fact recorded by all the four Evangelists.

Matthew informs us that "Christ appeared to Mary Magdalene and the other Mary" (xxviii. 9): this is the first interview. The second appearance is recorded in the 16th verse, when "the *eleven* disciples went away into Galilee, where Jesus had appointed them;" no mention is made of Peter in particular. Mark (xvi. 9) expressly states, "Now when Jesus was risen, early in the first day of the week, He appeared *first* to Mary Magdalene;" and, in the 12th verse, we read, "After that He appeared in another form unto *two of them* as they walked and went into the country;" and "AFTERWARDS *He appeared unto the eleven*" (v. 14). Luke omits to name the first appearance of our Saviour to Mary Magdalene, but records the second appearance to the two named by Mark (Luke xiv. 13). One of these, we are told, was Cleopas; that the other was not Peter is evident from the conversation that then took place between our Saviour and the two. Cleopas, not recognizing Jesus, relates the circumstance of the visit by the women to the sepulchre, and the angels, "which said, he was alive and *certain of them* [viz. Peter and John] which were with *us*, went to the sepulchre, and found it even so as the women had said, but Him [Christ] *they saw not*." It is not likely that Cleopas would have said, "Certain of *them* which were with us went to the sepulchre," if Peter had been with him at the time. St. John is more explicit: in chapter xx. he first relates the interview with Mary Magdalene, who then told the disciples of the resurrection; and in verse 19 he states, that in the same day, at evening, when the disciples were assembled, Jesus stood in the *midst of them*, which is the *first* time He appeared to the disciples; and at the 26th verse, "that after eight days, then came Jesus and stood in the midst," which

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is the second appearance. He then relates the circumstance of the great draught of fishes (xxi. 14), when Christ again appeared. "This is now the *third* time that Jesus showed himself to his disciples, after that he was risen from the dead." No particular mention whatever is made of Peter. We may be referred to the text from St. Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians, wherein he says, "And that he was seen of Cephas, then of the twelve" (1 Cor. xv. 5), which is the parallel text to Luke, cited by Dr. Milner. As we cannot suppose that Paul contradicted Luke or John, we must be driven to the necessity of believing that one of the two named by Luke (xxv. 13), and Mark (xvi. 12) was Peter, notwithstanding the very peculiar manner in which Cleopas addressed our Lord. In this case the other Apostle, Cleopas, saw the Lord as soon as Peter did.[a]

Neither Dr. Milner nor Bossuet, therefore, has any ground for asserting that Christ appeared *first* unto Peter.

4. "The *first* to preach the belief of this (the resurrection) to the people."—(Acts ii. 14.) "And first to convert the Jews."—(ii. 37.) Dr. Milner seems to have forgotten that, previous to this act of St. Peter, our Lord expressly conferred on each of the Apostles the like privilege in this respect. "But *ye* shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you; and *ye* shall be witness unto me both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and unto the uttermost part of the earth."—(Acts i. 8; and see Luke xxiv. 49, &c.)

5. "The *first* to convert the Gentiles."—(Acts x. 47.)

The circumstance here referred to has reference to St. Peter's vision and the subsequent conversion of Cornelius. It is very evident that St. Peter himself was ignorant of his supposed prerogatives, for he did not venture to go to Cornelius without a special command. He did not act on his own authority, as ruler of the Church, as is attempted to be here established, for he even doubted whether it were lawful to preach to the Gentiles. It is supposed by Dr. Milner that he acted by virtue of the precedency given him over the other Apostles. That no such authority in Peter existed, the circumstances connected with the very event amply testify, for we are subsequently told that "when Peter was come up to Jerusalem, they [the other Christians] that were of the circumcision [calling him to account for his actions] contended with him, saying, Thou wentest in unto men uncircumcised, and didst eat with them."—(Acts xi. 2, 3.) Peter, in reply, did not plead his plenary powers, or authority as Christ's

[a] Collette's "Pope's Supremacy," p. 82. London, 1852.

vicar, but "rehearsed the matter from the beginning, and expounded it by order unto them;—and when they heard it, they glorified God." They were convinced by his reasoning and narration, not by his authority; and though Peter may have converted Cornelius, and had a special commission among the Jews, Paul had an equally independent commission, and was appointed to preach to the Gentiles; and we have his direct testimony that he did not hold this commission from any superior or temporal head of the Church, but immediately by divine revelation, by divine permission of the Lord Jesus Christ,[a] and to whom was intrusted the daily care of *all* the churches.—(2 Cor. xi. 28.) Had this been recorded of her fancied head, St. Peter, Dr. Milner would not have failed to parade the text with confident exultation.

Dr. Milner should be reminded that the events to which he alludes (Acts x.) occurred subsequent to those related in Acts viii. Philip was selected by a special messenger from heaven to preach to the Ethiopian eunuch, and convert him to the Lord Jesus, and also performed the ceremony of baptism, on which occasion a miracle was performed; but we deduce from this no proof of a primacy in Philip.[b] Indeed, it is asserted that Philip, before this, preached Christ, did many miracles, and baptized many, and among others converted Simon the sorcerer. The Apostles at Jerusalem, hearing of his success, *sent* John and Peter to assist him.—(Acts viii. 14.) Peter being *sent* by the other Apostles "implies" that he was not superior to them.—(John xiii. 16.) It is a favourite argument, repeated again and again, as if it carried some weight, that in the order of the Apostles' names that of Peter stands first. But if this superiority were always assigned, which it is not, it would prove nothing to the purpose. No authority can be inferred from this circumstance, nor anything beyond bare precedence. Reuben was first in the numbering, but Judah was chief in rank. Chrysostom, in his homilies on St. Matthew, assigns certain grounds of preference; if there were any superiority involved, he certainly knew nothing of it.[c]

[a] Galat. i. 11—20; ii. 1, 2, 6, 19.

[b] It may be observed, that the Ethiopic Church has, at the present day, a tradition that, when the eunuch was baptized by Philip, he went home and converted the queen to the faith, and baptized her and her family, and this Church has since maintained the Christian faith; to this effect their Emperor David wrote to the Bishop of Rome (See Geddes' "Church History of Ethiopia," and "Damian a Goes. de Morib. Æthiop.," pp. 484, 582. Col. Agrip. 1574); and that "this was done *before* Peter went to Cornelius to preach the faith unto him."

[c] Robins's "Whole Evidence against the Claims of the Roman Church," p. 47. London, 1855. An excellent volume.

6. Referring to John xxi. 15, 17, Dr. Milner proceeds with his supposed Scriptural proofs: "Again I would ask, is there no distinction implied in St. Peter's being called upon by Christ to declare three several times, that he *loved* him, and, in the end, that he *loved him more than* his fellow-Apostles; as likewise in his being each time charged *to feed Christ's* lambs, and, at length, to *feed his sheep also*."

It must be a sorry case indeed that relies on very weak presumptive evidence (if it can be called evidence at all). All that Dr. Milner can draw from this occurrence is, that there was an "*implied* distinction." We think that we ought to have far more than an "*implied* distinction" in favour of Peter, to warrant us in believing that our Lord appointed this Apostle as the Supreme Head of the Church. It is a great stretch of the imagination to suppose that this grant is substantiated by a thrice-repeated injunction from Christ *that Peter should feed his flock*. It is evident that such a charge was not considered by the early Christian writers peculiar to Peter, or the Bishop of Rome, his alleged successor.[a] Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, writing to Stephen, Bishop of Rome, said: "*We*, being many shepherds, do feed one flock, and all the sheep of Christ."[b] "What is said to Peter [according to St. Augustine], is said to all, Feed my sheep."[c]

The thrice-repeated command evidently alludes to Peter's previous thrice-repeated denial of his Lord. Hence we are very naturally told that Peter was *grieved* because Christ said to him the *third* time, *Lovest thou me?* On this Augustine remarks: "He recompenseth a threefold denial with a threefold confession, that his tongue might not appear less accessible to love, than it had been to fear."[d] And again, "Peter straightway received pardon from the Lord, when he had most bitterly bewailed the sin of his threefold denial."[e] Yet,

[a] Casaubon, to whom Dr. Milner refers occasionally (Letter x. p. 131, and xxvi. p. 275) as being so frightened at the overwhelming evidence in the writings of the Fathers, both on general topics and on St. Peter being head of the Papal Church, and the Roman Pontiffs his successors, states in the plainest terms that such notions as those entertained by Baronius on that head, and of course by Dr. Milner, are the vainest of the vain:—"Scripturæ ac primorum sæculorum praxis, et metum Baronii et conjecturam illius pariter atque illationem *vanissimæ vanitatis* arguunt."—Exercitt. ad Annales Eccles. Baronii, p. 663, edit. Geneva, 1655.

[b] Epist. 68, ad P. Steph. p. 188, edit. Lipsiæ, 1838.

[c] Aug. de Agone Christ. 30, tom. vi. p. 439. Paris, 1837.

[d] Aug. in Johan. Tract. 123, tom. iii. pars 2, col. 817, sec. 5. Paris, 1690.

[e] "Petrus mox a Domino indulgentiam accepit, qui amarissime flevit trinæ negationis culpam."—Aug. de Tempor. Serm. 66.

by some inconceivable process, the Latin doctors transmute what Peter *himself*, with much mortification, deemed an implied reproof, into a glorious grant of universal dominant supremacy!

7. Luke xxii. 32 is then cited to prove that Peter was "to act the part of the shepherd, not only with respect to the flock in general, but also with respect to the pastors themselves:" in other words, to act as the supreme head or minister of the Church of Christ, by Christ's special appointment. This, we are told, "is plainly signified by the Lord's prayer for the faith of this Apostle in *particular*, and the charge he subsequently gave him: *Simon, Simon, behold Satan has desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat; but I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not; and thou being once converted, confirm thy brethren.*"

Surely Dr. Milner must have considered that his Protestant readers knew as little about the Bible as the members of *his* communion. He commences at the 32nd verse; but if we go back a little, we shall find sufficient evidence that our Lord did not intend to confer any peculiar dignity on Peter; on the contrary, the words of Christ were evidently uttered in rebuke. We read from the 24th verse in the same chapter, that there was a strife among the Apostles who should be accounted the greatest. Here was an opportunity presented to our Lord to declare his intention of conferring a supremacy or primacy of order on Peter. Christ, on the contrary, rebuked them saying, "The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them; and they that exercise authority upon them are called benefactors. *But ye shall not be so:* but he that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger; and he that is chief, as he that doth serve."

Here Christ's instruction was addressed to them all. But the reproof was addressed to Peter alone, because, as Chrysostom says, of his two offences; first, because he contradicted his master; and, secondly, because he put himself before the others. Immediately after this reproof, we have Christ's address to Peter that his faith should not fail. On this Peter replied by protestations of the firmness of his faith, declaring his readiness to follow him even to prison and to death; and then the Lord foretold that Peter should thrice deny him before hardly a day had run its course. And then we have in the *same chapter* the prophecy fulfilled; Peter, denying his Lord thrice,—yes, even (as Matthew relates, xxvi. 74), "he began to curse and to swear, saying, I know not the man."

How Dr. Milner can have the hardihood to refer to this chapter at all, and more especially to the particular fact of the prayer that Peter's faith should not fail, is almost unaccountable, for the text has direct reference to Peter's subsequent denial, not to Peter's own supremacy.

But Dr. Milner seems to have altogether overlooked the fact, that though our Saviour did not, at this time, include the other Apostles in his prayer—the circumstance did not then require it—he did so at other times. In John xvii. 6—9, in particular, we find that Christ prayed for all the Apostles, and expressly said (verse 20), "Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe in me through their word."

We cannot better close our remarks on this text than by giving the interpretation of the illustrious Father, Chrysostom, which is peculiarly corroborative of the foregoing observations; the more especially as Dr. Milner appears at all times to profess a great reverence for the early Christian writers, and never omits an opportunity of appealing to them as authoritative.

"Christ, therefore, wishing to repress such feelings, assented to the denial [*i. e.* permitted it to come to pass that Peter should deny him]. For since he (Peter) would not endure either His (Christ's) words nor the words of the Prophet (and yet it was for this reason that he assumed the character of a prophet that he might not contradict), he is taught by deeds. For that he assented to the trial just in order that this tendency in him might be corrected, listen to what he says: 'But I have prayed for thee that thy faith may not fail.' Now he uttered these words sharply reproving him (Peter), and to intimate that his fall would be more serious than that of the other disciples, and would need more help. For his offences were twofold; first, in contradicting [his Master]; secondly, in putting himself before the others; but, thirdly and mainly, his assuming the whole [responsibility] to himself. With a view of curing these things, therefore, he permitted the fall to take place, and on this ground, passing by the others, he addressed himself to him (Peter) alone. For says He, 'Simon, Simon, behold Satan hath requested to winnow you as wheat;' that is, to disturb, agitate, and try you. 'But I have prayed on thy behalf that thy faith may not be wanting.' But why, if he prayed for all, does he not say, I have besought on behalf of all? Is it not very evident that this is just what I before mentioned, that he is reproving Peter particularly, and *showing that as his fall would be worse than that of*

the others, he therefore addressed the conversation to him especially." [a]

8. "Is there no mysterious meaning," continues Dr. Milner, "in the circumstance, marked by the Evangelist, of Christ's *entering into Simon's ship* in preference to that of James and John, in order *to teach the people out of it;* and in the subsequent miraculous *draught of fishes,* together with our Lord's prophetic declaration to Simon: *Fear not, from henceforth thou shalt catch men?* (Luke v. 3, 10.)"

We confess that we are perfectly at a loss to discover any mysterious meaning in the circumstance of our Saviour being pressed by the people when he stood by the borders of the lake, and seeing *two* ships at hand, the fishermen having gone out of them, being engaged washing their nets, that he should enter into one of the ships, which happened to be Simon's, and sit down and teach the people out of this ship. When he had done speaking, he told Simon to launch out into the deep; and then is related the miraculous draught of fishes, Simon's astonishment, and his exclamation requesting Jesus to depart from him, for that he was a sinful man. Dr. Milner does not, however, unfold the mysterious covering which here envelops Peter's supremacy by divine right, and that of the Bishops of Rome, as his successors.

We cannot inform our readers how this "miraculous draught of fishes," together with our Lord's declaration to Simon, that from henceforth he "should catch men," tend in any way to establish his case; but had Dr. Milner taken the ordinary precaution of looking to the parallel text in Matthew iv. 19, and Mark i. 17, he would have found exactly the same "prophetic declaration" applied by our Saviour to Andrew by name, together *with* Peter.

9. "But the strongest proof," writes Dr. Milner, "of St. Peter's superior dignity and jurisdiction, consists in the explicit and energetical declaration of our Saviour to him, in the quarters of Cesarea Philippi, upon his making that glorious confession of our Lord's divinity: *Thou art Christ the Son of the living God.*—Our Lord had mysteriously changed his name, at his first interview with him, when Jesus, looking upon him, said, *Thou art Simon, the son of Jona; thou shalt be called Cephas, which is interpreted Peter* (John i. 42); and on the present occasion he explains the mystery, where he says, *Blessed art thou, Simon, Bar-jona,*" &c. &c.; see Matt. xvi. 17—19."

In the first place, we have already shown that the "glorious

[a] Hom. in Matth. lxxxii. or lxxxiii. tom. vii. pp. 886-7, edit. Paris, 1837.

confession of our Lord's Divinity was not *peculiar* to Peter, nor was he the first to make this important declaration (pp. 127-8, *suprà*); and in the second place, we can discover nothing "mysterious" in the change of name from Simon to Peter, or a *stone*. Nor was there anything peculiar in the circumstance, for it is also related of our Lord that he surnamed James and John, Boanerges, which is, the Sons of Thunder (Mark iii. 17); and this immediately after the text in which is recorded the change of name of "Simon" to "Peter."

If this text conveys any grant of that supremacy for which Romanists contend, the grant can only be comprehended in the supposed allegation on the part of Christ that *Peter is the Rock* upon *which he will build his Church;* and in the special, exclusive conveyance of what is called *the binding and loosing power of the keys:* for nowhere else in the entire text can we discover a vestige of any grant of a Universal Dominant Supremacy. That Dr. Milner relies on this interpretation is evident from the manner in which the text is quoted.

We shall not weary our readers with any attempt at an interpretation of the text in question: we could only advance an *opinion*, which, while it differed from Dr. Milner's interpretation, might not agree with that of all our readers. We believe that the *Rock* on which the Church was to be built was *Christ*, and that an express distinction was made by our Saviour between the words *πέτρος*, *a Stone*, Peter (John i. 42), and *πέτρα*, *a Rock*, CHRIST (Eph. ii. 20, 1 Cor. x. 4), on which the Church was to be built.

But how can Dr. Milner or any Romanist attempt to put a precise construction on this text, when they cannot present to us anything like a "unanimous agreement of the Fathers" in the interpretation of it? The truth is, the early theologians are anything but agreed as to the import of this part of the text. Justin, the oldest Father who notices the text, contends, that the Rock, upon which our Lord promised to build his Church, is not Peter individually, but Peter's Confession of Faith.[a] Athanasius, Jerome, and Augustine, maintain that the Rock is Christ himself.[b] Chrysostom, in one place, supposes Peter individually to have been the Rock, but, in another place, he pronounces, with Justin Martyr, that the Rock was Peter's Confession; and explicitly condemns the

[a] Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 255. Sylburg. 1593.

[b] Athan. Unum esse Christ. Orat. Oper. vol. i. pp. 519, 520. Commel. 1600. Hieron. Comment. in Matt. xvi. 18, lib. iii. Oper. vol. vi. p. 33. Colon. 1616. August. Expos. in Evan. Johan. Tract. cxxiv. Oper. vol. ix. p. 206. Colon. 1616.

idea, that Peter *himself* could have been intended.[a] Hilary also agrees with our oldest interpreter extant: for, like Justin, he states, that the Church was built upon the Rock of the Confession of Peter.[b] From the very beginning, then, different interpretations have been given of the clause; and the most ancient, and, as such, the most probably authentic interpretation, is NOT that for which modern Romanists contend, and on which Dr. Milner undauntedly relies to support his theory.

Such being the simple matter of fact, a clause, the import of which has been differently defined by different theologians even from the days of Justin Martyr, who became a convert to Christianity little more than thirty years after the death of St. John, is no specially secure foundation for a grant of Universal Dominant Supremacy to the Apostle Peter. Had the early theologians, from the beginning, *invariably* or *uniformly* understood the clause as the modern Romanists would have us understand it, we admit that a tolerably strong case would have been made out for at least a *personal* Supremacy in Peter: but gravely to build a most important historical FACT upon a palpably uncertain interpretation is surely the very apex of unhesitating fatuity.

The other clause in the text, which confers upon Peter the power of binding and of loosing, is not more satisfactory than that which we have last considered.

To elicit anything from this clause in favour of Peter's Universal Dominant Supremacy, it ought to have been demonstrated, that the power was given to Peter EXCLUSIVELY. But exactly the same power of binding and of loosing is subsequently given to *all* the Apostles: nor is the grant attended with the slightest intimation, either that the power was given to Peter in some special though undefined manner above his brethren, or that his brethren were to receive it only *ultimately* from Christ inasmuch as it was *directly* conveyed to them solely through the authoritative medium of their divinely-constituted monarch, the Archapostle St. Peter.[c] Origen, indeed, contends for something peculiar in the grant to Peter above all other persons: but Origen is not borne out by the inspired narrative. Tertullian, on the contrary, declared expressly that it was a personal gift to Peter, declaring the Bishop of Rome to be a

[a] Chrysost. Homil. lxix. in Petr. Apost. et Eliam Proph. Oper. vol. i. p. 856. Serm. de Pentecost. Oper. vol. vi. p. 233. Commel. 1603.

[b] Hilar. de Trin. lib. vi. Oper. p. 903. Paris, 1693. The same view of the text, so far as we can understand him, seems to have been taken by Cyril of Jerusalem. See Cyril Catech. xi. p. 93. Paris, 1631.

[c] Matt. xviii. 18. John xx. 21-23.

usurper for arrogating to himself this special privilege.[a] When Jesus finally, after His resurrection, communicated the power, whatever the *precise* nature of that power might be, He communicated it, *indifferently* to all the Apostles, and *immediately* from Himself.[b] Hence, though Cyprian maintains that unity commences from Peter, building that notion upon his own arbitrary and gratuitous interpretation of *the rock*, he fully admits that the other Apostles were what Peter was; he fully admits that they were endowed with an *equal* partnership both of honour and of power:[c] and, in truth, the whole history of Paul and his fellow-Apostles, as given in the inspired writings, clearly shows their perfect mutual independence; while it is quite silent as to any fancied absolute monarchy of Peter.[d]

Does any Roman Catholic at the present day believe the Pope of Rome has any such power as is here supposed to be conveyed by the gift of the *keys?* Is there one who believes that the Pope of Rome has any such power vested in him? *Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven,* are our Saviour's words to Peter, without any restriction or reservation. Let him realize the thought, and he will at once discard the idea as most impious. Christ gave to Peter, not to Peter only, but also to the other Apostles, the gift of healing the sick and of performing miracles. Why do they claim to be successors of St. Peter in part only of his "prerogatives?" The solution of the question is easy; but as no one can believe in the vain pretensions, it is useless to discuss the question further.

Having now examined every single text separately adduced by Dr. Milner for the doctrine of St. Peter's dominant authority, we unhesitatingly affirm, that not only do these texts afford no testimony that Christ appointed Peter to be the Supreme Head of His Church on earth, but utterly fail in supporting any claim made for him to that lofty position —one, indeed, to which the Apostle himself would never have aspired;[e] and are also as inapplicable in proving that the Bishops of Rome are divinely constituted heirs of the prerogatives of Peter (whatever we may fancy those prerogatives to have been), for it must be borne in mind that it is the title of the "BISHOP OF ROME" and of his "See" for which Dr. Milner is arguing.[f]

[a] Tert. de Pudicitia, cap. 21, tom. iv. p. 434. Halæ Magd. 1771.
[b] John xxi. 21—23.
[c] Epist. Quint. lxxi. Oper. vol. ii. pp. 194, 195. Edit. Oxon. 1682.
[d] See more especially, for Paul's distinctly specified *rationale* of the Apostleship, Galat. i. 11—22; ii. 1—19. Faber's "Difficulties of Romanism," b. i. c. iii.
[e] See Prot. Journal for 1836, p. 583. [f] See Letter xlvi. p. 437.

We must now direct our attention to the consideration whether, after all, Peter was ever Bishop of Rome. We find Dr. Milner's "Peter-boat" gently gliding down the stream, without affording any notion how he managed to get her off the stocks. He at once introduces us, without a single "by your leave," to St. Peter, as "*The first Pope or Bishop of Rome;*" and this subject we propose to consider in a separate article.

Sec. III.—St. Peter's alleged visit to Rome.[a]

Dr. Milner, with his accustomed hardihood, declares "that St. Peter (after governing for a time the Patriarchate of Antioch, the capital of the East, and thence sending his disciple Mark to establish that of Africa at Alexandria) finally fixed his own see at Rome, the capital of the world;" and that Saint Peter was "the first Pope or Bishop of Rome," and that "his successor in the see of Rome succeeds to his primacy and jurisdiction."[b]

The above and one or two other passages of this work are intended to convey to those who are not versed in Ecclesiastical history, the impression that St. Peter lived and died in Europe—that he lived there for the greater part of twenty-five years, and that it was for the sake of the principal Gentile Church that the Apostle thus set at nought the express command of Jesus, "Go not into the way of the Gentiles" (Matt. x. 5).

It is admitted by the Roman clergy, that if St. Peter occupied himself with the see of Rome only in the same general sense in which he is known to have occupied himself with the sees of Alexandria, Carthage, Lyons, Britain, and all the other Gentile cities or countries of his time,—if he did not devote himself to the great Gentile capital in some exclusive manner in which he did not devote himself to any other city, there would be no grounds for the pretensions of their Church to a universal supremacy. Their Church is, they all admit, neither so much older than any other Church, nor so much purer, nor so much more enlightened, nor so much more in accordance with Scripture, nor so much less a Gentile Church, than other Churches, as to entitle it upon such grounds to

[a] We are indebted for this article to Thomas Collins Simon, Esq., the talented author of "The Mission and Martyrdom of St. Peter:" Seeley, London, 1852. We most confidently recommend this book, as it embraces a critical examination of every passage usually adduced from the Fathers in support of the assertion that St. Peter personally went to Rome.

[b] Letter xlvi. pp. 440, 437, 439.

have assumed authority over other cities or other Churches. They therefore insist upon the importance to them of the Apostle's European residence; and happily this grand point is not with them an article of faith. They admit that it is a mere matter of fact, which must stand or fall by whatever evidence there exists respecting it. "It is an historical fact, which we have to prove (says Father McCorry, in his tract upon the subject), and that fact, like every other fact, must be proved by the weight of testimony" (p. 4).

The strongest evidence by which the Roman priesthood have sought to conciliate the belief of uninformed Protestants to this strange notion of Peter's having lived twenty-five years in Europe, consists of the following separate propositions:—1. That the Fathers speak of Peter as having founded the Church at Rome; from which it is inferred that he went to Rome and lived there soon after our Lord's death. 2. That Eusebius and the rest of the Greek and Roman Fathers said that the word "Babylon" was used by Peter in his Epistle instead of the word Rome; from which it is inferred that the Apostle died in that city. 3. That St. Jerome describes Peter as being Bishop of Rome for twenty-five years in an exclusive and peculiar sense; from which it is inferred that Peter must have resided there during that time. 4. That St. Jerome, in his Latin Chronicon, and likewise Eusebius, in his Greek Chronicon, describe the Apostle as mainly residing in Europe for twenty-five years.

We shall examine each of these propositions, but it may be of use to premise, that the story in question was first put forward by Cardinal Baronius, about the time of the Reformation, and was long believed to exist in the writings of Eusebius and Jerome, although (as is now well known to the learned) neither of these writers affords the slightest foundation for it. However piously intended, the fraud—never cordially supported—became at length so manifest, that it was disclaimed even long before Milner's time by the most zealous of the Papal writers, and with no small amount of indignation by some of them. Charles Du Moulin, the great ecclesiastical lawyer, whom Father Calmet describes as a steadfast Roman Catholic, writes thus:—"Even when, after the breaking up of the empire, the Bishops of Rome began to extend their authority over other churches, they never alleged or put forward this story of Peter's having left the East, which they would not have omitted to do if there had been any such thing to put forward,—a clear proof that there was not, the story not having been yet invented" (vol. iv. p. 460).

Father Hardouin, a learned Jesuit, and zealous partisan of the Papal pretensions, well aware how little historical support the story had, writes to the same effect: "We Roman Catholics hold that at least Peter's head was brought to Rome after his crucifixion, and that it ought to be duly worshipped there; but that the Pope is Christ's substitute and Peter's successor is clear enough, without our being bound to suppose that Peter himself ever came to Rome." The celebrated Father Antonio Pagi, a Franciscan monk, and the most learned as well as partial of Baronius's commentators, honestly declares that the story is "contrary to Scripture."—(See Baronii Annales, vol. i. A.D. 45, note.) And as this fatal objection to it is admitted by all the more learned of the Roman Catholics, we shall here observe what the Scripture information amounts to:—1. Our Lord's command that Peter should not go to the towns or cities in which the Gentiles prevailed, but that he should go to the towns and cities in which there were the greatest number of Jews (Matt. x. 5, 6). 2. Peter's account of himself as resident at Babylon, when his death was at hand (1 Pet. v. 13; 2 Pet. i. 14), Babylon having at that time some hundred thousand Jewish inhabitants, while Rome often had none at all, and never more than a few thousand. 3. Peter's residence in Judea and Syria until Agrippa's death, which took place in the fourth year of the Roman Emperor Claudius, whereas the story reports him to have gone to found the Roman Church in the second year of Claudius. 4. Paul's residence at Rome for two years, without having seen Peter there, nor even heard of his having been there. Such is the Scripture upon this point. Stephen Baluze, a learned and zealous Papist, who died in 1718, says of this story of Baronius: "How preposterous (*absurda*) such a supposition as this is, when no ancient writer states it, those well know who are acquainted with this subject."—(Baluze in Lactant. de Mort. Persecut. cap. 2.) In adverting to this remark of Baluze, Father Ceillier says: "And this also is the view of the matter that I adopt."—(Ceill. vol. i. c. 9.) Father Calmet, who died in 1757, says that even before his time, the supposition of Baronius had been abandoned by the Roman clergy as utterly untenable: "As to saying that Peter lived twenty-five years at Rome as bishop, that is a notion that people do not now pretend to justify."—(Prel. Diss. on 1 Peter.) The amiable and learned Roman Catholic Archbishop De Marca says (De Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii, lib. vi. cap. 1, § 4), in utter contempt of the pious fraud of Baronius: "St. Peter went from Jerusalem to Antioch, and thence to Babylon, where the hereditary

patriarch of the first dispersion of the Jews resided. When established in that city, he wrote his first Epistle."

We see then that the story put forward by Milner is not believed by the Roman Catholics themselves—at least, if by any of them, only by the more ignorant and uninformed; and this would be perhaps enough to make clear respecting it. We shall now, however, proceed to explain, for the satisfaction of our readers, the four propositions above given, out of which Cardinal Baronius was tempted to invent the story, in the hope of thereby arresting the Reformation.

Proposition 1.—All the Fathers unite in saying that it was at Jerusalem that St. Peter laid the foundations of the Roman Church, there being Romans among his first converts (Acts ii. 10), who subsequently returned home, "preaching the word" (viii. 4), after the death of Stephen. Thus Gregory of Nyssa, in his sermon upon Stephen, says, "From this time the disciples of the twelve began to traverse the whole world, and this was the beginning of the diffusion of the Gospel in all quarters. In this way it was that Samaria received the word. Thus also the Egyptians, Syrians, Parthians [*i.e.* Babylonians,] and the Mesopotamians, *the Italians* also, and the Illyrians, and the Macedonians began to have their churches."

Irenæus also, after quoting portions of Peter's address from the second chapter of the Acts, says, "These are the words of that church [at Jerusalem], by which *every other church was founded.* These are the words of the parent church—the words of the Apostles, &c., after the ascension of the Lord."—(B. iii. ch. xii. sect. 5.)

St. Athanasius says of these early converts, in his sermon "De Sementi:"—"For they were scattered in this way, in order that in their travels over the world they might diffuse and, as it were, plant the Christian churches."

St. Chrysostom speaks thus of this sudden creation of the Christian churches everywhere:—"For though it is a little thing to say, 'I shall build my Church,' do not hasten over the words as if they were nothing, but unfold them to your understanding, and reflect how immense an act it was in this rapid manner to fill with so many churches every portion of the earth that is inhabited by mankind, and to erect altars everywhere,—in the country of the *Romans,* and of the Persians [*i.e.* Babylonians], in Scythia, in Mauritania, and upon the Indus. But what am I saying? The thing went even beyond this world of ours; for the British Isles, which are situated beyond our sea—which lie, in fact, in the very ocean—these felt the power of those mighty words. Even there, even in

those islands, churches and altars were then erected and the words so spoken were realized in every heart. *Thus it was that His Apostles founded our Lord's churches everywhere.*"[a]

And what says Cardinal Baronius himself? "In the thirty-fifth year after the birth of Christ"—these are his words—"all the Christians except the Apostles were compelled to leave Jerusalem on Stephen's death, when they proceeded into different countries the most widely separated from one another. In these countries they preached the Gospel, and *enabled the Apostles in this manner to multiply under favourable circumstances the churches of God.*"—(Annal. A.D. 35, *init.*)

But Baronius often admits that Peter's presence is not implied in his foundation of a church. "For what does it mean," he asks (A.D. 39, para. 16), "when Peter is said to have founded the Church of Antioch? They are quite wrong who think that Peter must have gone to Antioch for that purpose." And, again: "As Peter's chair at Alexandria, in which it cannot be made to appear that Peter ever was, was founded by that Apostle, it is quite evident that his presence was not necessary to found even a patriarchal see."—(Ibid.)

Thus, though Peter is said to have founded the Church of Rome, there is no reason whatever for supposing him to have gone to that city.

Proposition 2.—This is now well known by those versed in Church literature to be altogether a mistake. Neither Eusebius nor any other of the Greek or Latin Fathers have said that "Babylon" meant "Rome" in Peter's First Epistle. Eusebius, indeed, mentions a conjecture to that effect as current among some of the Jewish converts in his day, but that is all; and Eusebius is the only one who mentions even this; no other Greek or Latin Father has even alluded to it. He does not say, however, that a conjecture of that description (formed, moreover, 300 years after the event) appeared to him sufficient foundation for rejecting the information of the Scriptures. He says the contrary; he says the proposed metaphor was too bold (τροπικώτερον).—(B. ii. chap. xv.)

What gave credibility for a short time to the story of Baronius was that Jerome, a Latin writer, who, although he himself acknowledged that he was a very bad Greek scholar, yet professed to translate this Greek passage of Eusebius, in his work on Ecclesiastical Authors, simply wrote down, upon the authority of Eusebius, that Peter had used one name for the other, not that there was a rumour of his having done

[a] Chrysost. vol. i. edit. Paris, 1834, p. 702.

so. But even on the supposed authority of Eusebius, Jerome did not reject the Scripture statement, but distinctly states that it was from Babylon Peter wrote.—(Comment. on Haggai, chap. ii.) In Jerome's own Commentary also on Peter's Epistle, he does not so much as mention what his ignorance of Greek led him to suppose was the opinion of Eusebius.

We have observed that none of the Fathers have *sanctioned* the rumour recorded by Eusebius any more than Eusebius himself. They have not even recorded it. It is to this that Father Tillemont adverts, when he says, "Bishop Pearson attributes this notion to many of the Fathers. It is to be regretted that he has not mentioned who they were. He did not, however, himself entertain it."[a] And scarcely any of the more enlightened Roman Catholic writers have adopted the practice of the few Jewish converts alluded to by Eusebius, even though they supposed that they had the authority of Eusebius and other Fathers to uphold them in doing so. "Peter's First Epistle," says Father Dupin, "was written from Babylon. Some of the ancients were of opinion that Rome was meant by this name, but this interpretation would not be natural. We cannot precisely assign the time when it was written; but we may consider that it was written at Babylon, A.D. 45." — (Prelim. Diss. sect. 4.) We have already seen what was the opinion of the Roman Catholic Archbishop De Marca; and Father Calmet says, that several other distinguished Romanists had long given up the rumour, as a frivolous innovation upon Scripture. But in fact, all now, except the more ignorant Romanists, find themselves reduced to the necessity of abandoning this rumour, however vaguely they may choose to express themselves on the subject: for they are all agreed that the Epistle was written about A.D. 45, while Claudius was Emperor; so that supposing it written in Europe, is supposing Peter to have left the East in the reign of Claudius, that notion of Baronius which (as we have already shown) all the learned in communion with the Church of Rome now acknowledge to be utterly untenable. Upon what grounds then is it, we ask, that enlightened Protestants are expected to listen to a Roman story, which Romanists themselves do not believe?

Proposition 3.—It is quite a mistake to suppose that Jerome describes Peter as being Bishop of Rome for twenty-five years in any other sense than as he was Bishop of Carthage, Canterbury, or Alexandria for the same time. Jerome has said exactly the contrary: "Peter did not fix his see in any

[a] Till. art. Peter, note 31, vol. i. part 2, 749, edit. Bruxelles, 1706.

single city only. The whole world was Peter's see."—(Jer. adv. Vigilantium.) And that was the view that all the Fathers took of this matter. St. Augustine says, that "Peter received the whole world as his diocese."—(Aug. in Psalm ciii. serm. iii. sec. 16, vol. iv. p. 1161.) Gregory the Great says that Alexandria was as much Peter's see as any other church, and that the Bishop of Alexandria was then sitting in Peter's chair as well as himself.—(Lib. vi. Epist. 40.) In the same spirit St. Gildas speaks of Peter as bishop of these islands.—(Gild. De Excid. Brit. p. 2.) Thus we see that though some of the Fathers speak of Peter as the bishop of single countries or cities, as Alexandria, England, Antioch, Rome, &c., they considered it untrue as well as unorthodox to speak of him in the way modern Romanists do, as having *fixed* his see anywhere; and we further perceive from the above references, as well as many others, that even if it were true that Peter was exclusively Bishop of Alexandria, Britain, or Rome, his having been bishop of a place would not imply his having gone to that place, as Cardinal Bellarmine frankly admits, arguing that "many who were Bishops of Rome never resided at Rome; such as Clement V., John XXII., Benedict XII., Clement VI., and Innocent VI., who were ordained in France, and in France lived all their lives."—(Bell. De Summ. Pontif. lib. ii. chap. 1). And Father Hardouin, as we have seen, argues to the same effect. But we may here observe, that it was not until a very late period that any of the Fathers spoke of Peter as a bishop at all. Even up to the time of Eusebius this was not done. "The Apostles," says De Valois, the learned Roman Catholic commentator upon Eusebius, "had a rank peculiar to themselves, nor were they reckoned among the bishops" (On Eusebius, iii. 14); and again,—"It must not be forgotten that Eusebius never reckons the Apostles among the bishops of the Churches. . . . . Irenæus, as well as Eusebius, says that Peter and Paul laid the first foundations of the Church of Rome, but these writers nowhere reckon them among the bishops of that church."—(iii. 21.) But this point is unimportant. What it is really of moment to remember is, that even if Peter was Bishop of Rome thirty-five years, as some say, or twenty-five, as others inform us, that fact does not prove him to have been at Rome at all, or to have been its bishop in other sense than as St. Gildas said he was Bishop of Britain, or as Gregory the Great said he was Bishop of Alexandria, or as Augustine and Jerome say he was bishop of the whole world.

Proposition 4.—It remains that we should now show upon

what grounds all well-informed Roman Catholics reject this fourth portion of the historical evidence adduced by Baronius. The chief facts to be here stated are, that Eusebius wrote in Greek, and Jerome in Latin,—the one being a Greek, the other a Latin Father; that Eusebius first wrote his Chronicon and then his History; that his Chronicon is now wholly lost; that Jerome was an indifferent Greek scholar; that what is now sometimes erroneously called his Translation of Eusebius's Greek Chronicon, he himself admitted was not a translation of that work, but a compilation from various writers, from Eusebius among the rest; that the MSS. of Jerome's Chronicon reached the first editors full of interpolations and changes; that it appeared to Baronius and others that it must have been even altered in form and arrangement from what Jerome originally wrote; that we have now, therefore, no clue as to what there was or was not in the original Greek Chronicon of Eusebius—no clue even as to what there was or was not in the original Latin Chronicon of Jerome,—Baronius and all the Roman clergy admitting that it cannot be relied upon *per se* for any one statement that it contains; that the passage in it about Peter's having lived twenty-five years at Rome is nevertheless not unlikely to have really originated with Jerome, as there is a somewhat similar passage in Jerome's Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Authors, which work he acknowledges that he compiled from Eusebius; that if it really did originate with Jerome, it is very uncertain whether Jerome used the terms of this passage in any other than their ecclesiastical sense; that in their mere ecclesiastical sense they neither denote a journey to Rome nor a residence there; that if they are to be looked upon in any other light, the passage is a mere mistranslation from Eusebius (B. ii. c. 14); that Jerome, however, has nowhere, even upon the supposed authority of Eusebius, incorporated this statement with his own original writings, although these writings are extremely voluminous; that none of the other Greek or Latin Fathers, except two, ever noticed it; and that these two only noticed it as a statement of Jerome's.

The passage from Jerome's Chronicon runs thus:—"In the second year of Claudius, Peter, as soon as he had founded the Church of Antioch, is given the mission of Rome (*Romam mittitur*), where he promulgated the Gospel, and he was also the bishop of that church for twenty-five years, without cessation."

It has already been shown that, in ecclesiastical language, "to found a church," or "to be its bishop," does not imply a person's presence. Those Apostles were also said "to pro-

mulgate" the Gospel anywhere, who caused it to be preached there; and "to have the mission" of a city, or "to proceed" to it, who occupied themselves about its church. Thus, Nicephorus (xiv. 39) says that "when Peter had arranged the Church of Rome, he next *proceeded* (μετέβαινεν) to Alexandria," although it was well known that he never went there. The ancient Latin translator here uses *transit* to express this ecclesiastical sense. So that we see there is a great probability of Jerome's having only used these words in an ecclesiastical acceptation in his passage; but if we prefer to attach the ordinary meaning to the word, we see that this naturally resulted from the attempt of one little versed in Greek literature to translate the passage in Eusebius ii. 14, where the Apostle is said to have had his exertions directed against the Samaritan heresy at Rome, while he was still residing at Jerusalem.

Jerome's ignorance of Greek he himself acknowledges in his preface to his Latin Chronicon.

The interpolations, alterations and errors, of which the Chronicon almost wholly consists, are attested by Baronius (A.D. 325, para. 215), where he speaks of it as a "labyrinth of error."

Father Ceillier (vol. iv. p. 256) explains how Eusebius wrote his Chronicon before his History, which was the larger and completer work; and that the Chronicon was wholly lost. He also explains (p. 221) the fictitious character of a work which passed for some time under the name of Eusebius's Chronicon; but which was a mere mass of extracts, compiled by Scaliger from recent writers.

The reader will now see what substantial reasons induced the enlightened Roman Catholics to refuse to defend their church by so frivolous and groundless a story as that brought forward by Baronius, and here repeated by Dr. Milner for circulation among uninformed Protestants. But why, we again ask, should Roman Catholics now call upon the latter to believe what the better informed among themselves have long ago regarded as a groundless and even an absurd story?

SEC. IV.—Historical Evidence.—St. Paul.—Ignatius.—Clement of Rome.—Irenæus.—Tertullian.—Origen.—Cyprian.—Jerome.

Having comfortably established St. Peter as the Bishop of Rome, by the mere power of assertion unsupported by any proof whatever, Dr. Milner proceeds to affirm that "his successors there [at Rome] have each of them exercised the power of supreme pastor; and that they have been acknowledged by

all Christians, except by notorious heretics and schismatics, from the apostolic age down to the present, the writers, and doctors, historians of the church unanimously testify." [a] Here there is a direct appeal to the testimony of history, and by which Dr. Milner seems to be willing to test the claim raised by his church for the supremacy and presidency of her chief bishop. We now propose to examine these authorities.

1. ST. PAUL.—The first authority appealed to is St. Paul, "who (we are told), having been converted and raised to the apostleship in a miraculous manner, thought it necessary to *go up to Jerusalem to see Peter,* where *he abode with him fifteen days* (Galat. i. 18)."—(p. 440.) It is strange that Dr. Milner should force the meaning of a writer so accessible to every one. That St. Paul *thought it necessary* to go to Jerusalem to visit Peter is a stretch of the doctor's imagination: his own translation of the Testament tells him simply, "Then three years after [he had gone to Arabia and again returned to Damascus] I came to Jerusalem to see Peter, and stayed with him fifteen days." It is natural that St. Paul, "being called to the grace of Christ," should be desirous to see Peter, one of the foremost, if not the chief, of the Apostles, and certainly, according to tradition, the eldest of them. But how this can prove a Supremacy in Peter is quite beyond our comprehension. This took place about A.D. 38.[b] St. Luke, in his history of the "Acts of the Apostles," in the ninth chapter, describes St. Paul's journey to Damascus, and afterwards to Jerusalem at this time. It is wholly impossible to trace any hint or allusion in the circumstance related by him, from which we can deduce any such inference as Dr. Milner desires to convey from the fact of St. Paul's visit; on the contrary, he does not even so much as name St. Peter, though he enters into various circumstances which occurred to himself while at Jerusalem.

Chrysostom, commenting on the fact of St. Paul's visit, is very far from drawing any argument in favour of St. Peter's primacy from it; indeed, had such a primacy been acknowledged by Chrysostom, he would, like Dr. Milner and other modern Romanists, have taken this opportunity of asserting the fact; but Chrysostom seems to make it a condescension on the part of St. Paul. He says, "What can indicate more humility than this intention (ψυχῆς)? After so many and so great exploits, having no need at all of Peter, or of his discourses, *but being in dignity equal to him* (for I will now say no more), he yet doth go up to him, as to one greater

[a] Letter xlvi. p. 440.
[b] Acts ix. 26, is considered the parallel passage.

and more ancient; and a sight alone of Peter is the cause of his journey thither."—"He went, not to learn anything of him, nor to receive any correction from him, but for this only, that he might see him and honour him with his presence."[a]

But why did not Dr. Milner pass on to the subject narrated by St. Paul in the second chapter to the Galatians? Fourteen years after, namely A.D. 52, St. Paul went up again to Jerusalem, because "of false brethren" having preached erroneously with reference to circumcision.—(Acts xv.) Here he expressly informs us that he was the chosen Apostle to preach to the Gentiles, while Peter was chosen for the "apostleship of the circumcision." The subject was discussed at Jerusalem among the Apostles there; but when St. Peter subsequently went to Antioch, St. Paul "withstood him to his face (before them all), because he was to be blamed."—(Gal. ii. 11, 14.)

But if St. Paul be appealed to as bearing testimony on the subjects, *first*, as to St. Peter's having occupied the See of Rome; and, *second*, of his recognized position as Supreme Bishop of the whole Christian Church, and consequently that St. Paul was subject to him, we could briefly reply, that no such conclusion can be gathered from his writings; the negative evidence, on the contrary, may be strongly urged:—

I. St. Paul wrote his Epistle to the Romans, as the Rhemish Testament acknowledges, "about twenty-four years after our Lord's ascension," viz. A.D. 57. He nowhere in this Epistle so much as names Peter as being at Rome, though he sends his salutations to numerous persons there, and mentions twenty-six by name. Perrone, the Jesuit Lecturer at Rome,[b] is sadly incommoded by the inference so fairly deducible from the *silence* of St. Paul, against any residence of St. Peter in that city, when *some* mention of him at least would have been so natural. Perrone thinks that the omission may be paralleled by the absence of any reference to the bishops of other sees in other Epistles; but after having endeavoured to squeeze an argument for St. Peter's chieftainship out of nearly all his public actions,[c] and making all of them bear witness to his having had a dominant superiority conferred upon him, and which he began to exercise in the first Council; how utterly inconsistent to imagine him placed in actual possession of the throne of his glory, and yet that nothing should be heard of him, not a single recognition of his giving any *order*,

[a] Chrysost. in Gal. i. 18, p. 804, tom. x. Paris, 1837.

[b] Prælectiones Theologicæ, tom. ii. de Primatu, sec. 556, edit. Mediol. 1845.

[c] See Elliott's "Delineation of Romanism," p. 615. London, 1851.

no sign of presence. Whether he had, unfortunately, just gone off to his country seat at Albano, we cannot say; there is no trace of him anywhere. Tradition is, in short, confessedly needed (see Perrone *ut suprà*, § 540 and note), to act as an interpreter in an obscure matter, and to explain to us that the supremacy is there to be found; and it being thus plain (so they say) from *tradition* why the primacy was instituted, it is evident that this article of faith is founded on *Scripture*. St. Paul himself proceeded to Rome, from whence he wrote several Epistles. The same Rhemish translation—the edition now in general use in England—informs us that he wrote his Epistles to the Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians, from Rome, about A.D. 64. In these he names several persons then at Rome, who desired their salutation, but Peter is not named. His Second Epistle to Timothy was also written from Rome in the time of his last imprisonment at Rome, and not long before his martyrdom; namely, A.D. 66, when he was brought before Nero the second time. And here we have very strong presumptive evidence, that Peter was not there at that period. Paul complained that all but Luke had forsaken him. "At my first answer no man stood with me, but all forsook me. I pray God that it may not be laid to their charge."[a] Had Peter been there, would he have left Paul to suffer alone?[b]

Tradition informs us that St. Peter boldly faced death; if at Rome then, why should he have forsaken Paul in the hour of need? And, if so, either as bishop or otherwise, how very remiss he must have been in his duty as shepherd of his sheep; for, in addition to the above facts, Paul states, that at this time, when Onesiphorus "was in Rome he, sought me out very *diligently*, and found me." Had the supposed "Supreme Pontiff," Peter, been there, he would have had no difficulty in finding out through him so important an Apostle.

II. And, secondly, we can discover no allusion whatever to the supposition of Paul being in any way *subject* to Peter. If any inference of this kind is to be drawn from the New Testament, we should be led to consider that Paul was more favoured than Peter. We expressly read, that upon Paul devolved "the care of all the Churches."[c] How conclusive would this have appeared to Romanists had thus much been affirmed of Peter! Besides, Paul himself declared, that "in nothing [no

[a] 2 Tim. iv. 11 and 16.

[b] See this subject ably followed out in a pamphlet entitled "The See of Rome, its Claims to Supremacy examined," being an extract and translation from the "Recueil Catholique." London and Edinburgh, 1852.

[c] 2 Cor. xi. 28; and see Acts ix. 15, xiii. 2.

gift, endowment, privilege, or right] am I behind the very chiefest of the Apostles."—(2 Cor. xii. 11.) Again, he said of himself, that he "was not a whit behind the very chiefest of the Apostles."—(2 Cor. xi. 5.) And this declaration he made upwards of thirty years after St. Peter is supposed to have assumed the supreme government of the Church, as Christ's representative. Peter's mission was destined to be among the Jews. We find him, therefore, as the Apostle of the circumcision, carrying out his mission in Jerusalem, Cæsarea, Lydda, and Joppa, at which latter place he remained some time. After this he preached to the Jews dispersed through Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia; and, lastly (as is generally supposed), in Babylon, in Assyria.—(1 Peter v. 13.) It was not his office, therefore, as far as we can learn from the Scriptures, to preach to the Gentiles in their own country, much less to exercise any primacy over the Gentile churches. While, on the contrary, Paul was called to preach to the uncircumcised.—(Rom. xi. 13; Gal. i. 6, 7.) And Rome came under his especial care, and was therefore appointed by God to a special and independent charge, irrespective of Peter or any other supposed supreme Pontiff of Christ's Church. And this is borne out by the testimony of Gregory of Nazianzum, esteemed by Romanists a Father of the Church, who in the Thirty-third Oration, sec. 11 (attributed to him), distinctly confined Peter's sphere of action to Judea.

In no one passage do we find related of Peter, as of Paul, "that he had received grace and apostleship for obedience to the faith among all nations, for His [Christ's] name."—(Rom. i. 5.) And further, we have Scriptural evidence that Paul resided at Rome for a considerable period of time, but none at all respecting Peter; the evidence is against such a supposition.

Ambrose, bishop of Milan, A.D. 390, another Father and a saint canonized by the Roman Catholic Church, recorded his opinion that "neither was Paul inferior to Peter—being well to be compared even with the first, and second to none."[a] And another Father, also a canonized saint, St. Chrysostom (A.D. 400), said, "For what was greater than Peter, what equal to Paul?"[b] And again he says, "Christ committed the Jews to Peter, but set Paul over the Gentiles;"—"he [Paul] doth further show himself to be equal to them in dignity, and compared himself not only to others, but even

[a] Nec Paulus inferior Petro, cum primo quoque facile conferendus, et nulli secundus.—Amb. Oper. vol. iv. De Spiritu Sancto, lib. ii. cap. 12, col. 254. Paris, 1661.

[b] Chrys. tom. v. Orat. 167.

to the ringleader, showing that *each did enjoy equal dignity.*"[a] His work, "The Praises of Paul," is replete with such passages as the following:—"He was the light of the churches, the foundation of faith, the pillar and ground of truth;" "Nothing was more bright, nothing more illustrious than he;" "None was greater than he, yea, none equal to him;" "He had the whole patronage committed unto his hands." Peter, it is very evident, did not hold the primacy in the estimation of *Saint* Chrysostom. All the Apostles with him were equal, for while extolling Paul, he included Peter and the others: "But when I speak of Paul, I mean not only him, but also Peter and James and John, and all their choir. For as in a lyre there are different strings, but one harmony; so, too, in the choir of the Apostles, there were different persons, but one teaching; since one, too, was the musician, even the Holy Spirit, who moved their souls. And Paul, signifying this, said, 'Whether, therefore, it were they or I, so we preach.'"[b]

Even Pope Gregory I. acknowledged that Paul "was made head of the nations, because he obtained the principate of the whole world."[c]

2. IGNATIUS.—His second witness is "St. Ignatius" (p. 440).

"St. Ignatius, who was a disciple of the Apostles, and next successor, after Evodius, of St. Peter in the see of Antioch, addresses his most celebrated Epistle to the church, which he says 'PRESIDES in the country of the Romans.'"

It is difficult to comprehend what these few words, "presides in the country of the Romans," have to do with Peter's primacy, or the supremacy of the Pope of Rome over the whole Christian Church. Ignatius wrote about the year 100. Six Epistles are attributed to him, which are said to have been written very shortly before his martyrdom: he refers to the approaching event frequently. The six Epistles were written to the Ephesians, Magnesians, Trallians, Romans, Philadelphians, and Smyrnæans. In his Epistle to the Romans, he says, "Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to the church which has obtained mercy from the most Holy Father, and his only begotten Son Jesus Christ; beloved and illuminated through the will of Him who willeth all things which are according to the love of Jesus Christ our God; which also presides in the place of the region of the Romans; and which I salute in the name of Jesus Christ, as being united both in

[a] p. 440, vol. iii., Paris, 1835; and p. 811, vol. x., Paris, 1837.

[b] And see St. Chrys. Oper. tom. ii. p. 594, B. Bened. edit. Paris.

[c] "Caput effectus est nationum, quia obtinuit totius Ecclesiæ principatum."—(*Greg. M.* in I. Reg. lib. iv. Videsis.) "Paulus Apostolorum Princeps."—(Epist. Spalat. in Lat. Syn. sub P. Jul. II. sess. 1, p. 25, quoted by Barrow.)

flesh and spirit to all His commands, and filled with the grace of God in Jesus Christ," &c.[a]

In addressing his letter to this church, he refers to it most naturally as presiding in the place of the region of the Romans; we shall presently see that he uses the same manner of speech to the other churches, and far from conferring any precedency or universal government centred in this church, his words clearly indicate a *limited* jurisdiction to that peculiar region. There is nothing in the entire Epistle which could by any possibility denote any superiority in this particular church; on the contrary, he says, "I write to the *churches*, and signify to them all, that I am willing to die for God!" Again, he says (sec. 9), "Remember in your prayers the Church of Syria, which now enjoys God for its shepherd, instead of me: let Jesus Christ alone oversee it, and your love."

Ignatius was bishop of Antioch, and, as Dr. Milner intimates, next successor, after Evodius, to St. Peter himself, who is supposed to have been the first bishop of that place. Milner, a few lines before, says, that "St. Peter, after governing for a time the Patriarchate of Antioch, finally fixed his own see at Rome, the capital of the world." Peter's martyrdom is said to have taken place A. D. 61; so that at the time when St. Ignatius wrote this Epistle, Peter must have already occupied his see, then in his alleged successor's possession. It would be natural to suppose that Ignatius would have referred to so peculiar a privilege, but nothing of the sort appears. The only reference to St. Peter is in the following: "Pray, therefore, unto Christ for me, that by these instruments [wild beasts, referring to his approaching death] I may be made the sacrifice of God. I do not, as Peter and Paul command you. They were Apostles, I a condemned man," &c.

We shall now see that his language towards the Church of Rome was nothing peculiar. In his Epistle to the Ephesians, he writes, "Ignatius, who is called Theophorus, to the church which is at *Ephesus*, in Asia, most deservedly happy, being blessed through the greatness and fulness of God the Father, and predestinated before the world began, that it should be always unto an enduring and unchangeable glory, being united and chosen through his true passion according to the will of the Father," &c. He calls them "much beloved in God," that they had "perfectly accomplished the work that was co-natural unto you," and "famous throughout the

[a] Archbishop Wake's Translation from the text of Vossius.

world." He exhorts them to be "subject," not to the see or Bishop of Rome, but to their own "bishop and presbytery, that they might be wholly and thoroughly sanctified;" "for your famous presbytery, worthy of God [he said] is fitted as exactly to the bishop, as the strings are to the harp." He refers frequently to the excellency of their bishop, as enjoying in this respect a peculiar privilege. Is it not strange that he did not refer to the greater privilege which the see of Rome is pretended to have enjoyed, as being presided over by the "Chief Apostle," and then his legitimate successor! and as Dr. Milner adds, then exercising "the power of Supreme Pastor, and acknowledged as such by all Christians?" In this Epistle he nowhere names Peter, but he speaks of Paul as "The holy, the martyr, the deservedly most happy Paul."

To the Magnesians he writes, "To the blessed [Church of Magnesia], by the grace of God the Father in Jesus Christ our Saviour: in whom I salute the church which is at Magnesia." He speaks much of their bishops and presbyters, he urges them, "as becomes those who are prudent in God, submitting to him [their bishop], or rather not to him." Does he here then refer to the Bishop of *Rome* as Supreme Pastor? No; "but to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Bishop of us all."

The Pope of Rome modern Romanists declare to be "Vicar or Representative of Christ." Here Ignatius calls the Bishop of Magnesia "bishop presiding in the place of God," their presbyters as presiding "in the place of the Council of the Apostles," and exhorts them all to "study to be confirmed in the doctrine of our Lord and of His Apostles."

To the *Trallians* he writes, "To the holy church which is at Tralles, in Asia, beloved of God the Father of Jesus Christ, elect and worthy of God, having peace through the flesh and blood and passion of Jesus Christ, &c." He speaks of them as continuing in the apostolical character; he also refers to their bishops.

And to the like effect he wrote to the *Philadelphians*.

To the Smyrnæans he writes in a similar manner:—"To the church of God the Father, and of the beloved Jesus Christ, blessed with every good gift; being filled with faith and love, and being wanting in no gift; most worthy of God, and fruitful in saints; the church which is in Smyrna, in Asia;" and declares them to be "settled in an immovable faith." Romanists assert, Where the Pope of Rome is, there is the Catholic Church. Ignatius, in this Epistle, says, "Where Jesus Christ is, there is the Catholic Church" (§ 8).

We have been particular in going through all the six Epistles, for it will satisfy any candid reader that the fact of Ignatius stating that the Church of Rome "presided in the place of the region of the Romans," when compared with a like reference to the other churches, did not disclose any acknowledgment on his part that the Bishop of Rome "exercised a supreme power" over other churches *out* of the "place of the region of the Romans." Nor did his praises of that church place it above other churches, for his language, if anything, is more laudatory when writing to other churches. Unless it were to make a vain display of the name of a Christian martyr, we are at a loss to perceive why Ignatius should be cited as a witness to the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome over the primitive Church.

3. CLEMENT OF ROME.—The third witness is thus introduced:—"About the same time, dissensions taking place in the Church of Corinth, the case was referred to the Church of Rome, to which the holy Pope Clement, *whose name is written in the Book of Life* (Philip. iv. 3), returned an Apostolical answer of exhortation and instruction" (p. 440). We cannot discover under what authority, except his own, Dr. Milner asserts that the case of the Corinthians was referred to the Church of Rome. It is true that Clement wrote an Epistle, full of love and Christian feeling, to the Corinthians; but he neither wrote as an Apostle, nor as one in authority, nor was his Epistle addressed as from one holding supreme authority, or any authority at all, over all churches, and certainly not in the form or on the pattern of a modern Pope's letter. It did not go forth as from himself; but he writes, "The church of God which is at Rome, to the church of God which is at Corinth, elect, sanctified by the will of God through Jesus Christ our Lord." Each he acknowledges "a church of God;" nor does he place his own church higher than that of Corinth. There is not one word throughout the whole of these two Epistles to indicate that Clement assumed to himself any such position as Dr. Milner would fain make out for him. On the contrary, he says, "Christ is theirs, who are humble, and who do not exalt themselves over the flock" (§ 16). The Epistle runs altogether in the same strain. Nor is there the slightest historical evidence extant to warrant the supposition that either the Church of Corinth or any other church recognized in the Bishop of Rome a superior ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and were it the subject of the present discussion, we might show that there is a large portion in this Epistle of pure and unadulterated Christianity, which would ill accord with modern Romish teaching. If the fact

of writing a letter of "exhortation and instruction" to the Corinthians conferred any peculiar privilege on the writer, Paul had already occupied the ground, in having first written a truly Apostolic exhortation to these same Corinthians; and yet no person would say that *therefore* Paul had a superior jurisdiction over them. We might refer to other Epistles of a similar nature, if it were any argument to the point.

There was not wanting an opportunity, in this Epistle to the Corinthians, for Clement to assert or refer to his supposed privilege as Supreme Pastor. He writes at some length concerning the ministry; and there are many remarkable passages in which he could not have omitted mentioning so important an office as that of the one Supreme Bishop of the Church, had any such then been recognized, particularly as successor of one particular Apostle, specially appointed by Christ to that peculiar office.

Again, as he had special reason to refer to Peter, as also to Paul, the following extract will show in what way he referred to each of them and their work in the ministry for Christ's sake; and where also he might have availed himself, as the supposed successor of St. Peter, to have referred to his peculiar office and jurisdiction; but, on the contrary, his attention was more forcibly directed to Paul; and this as Bishop of Rome was natural enough, as Paul was most certainly at Rome, and laboured there for two years, and died there; while there is not one line of historical evidence, as we have proved, that St. Peter was ever at Rome at all.

"Let us set before our eyes the holy Apostles. Peter, by unjust envy, underwent not one or two, but many sufferings; till at last, being martyred, he went to the place of glory that was due unto him. For the same cause, did Paul, in like manner, receive the reward of his patience. Seven times he was in bonds; he was banished, was stoned; *he preached both in the East and the West*, leaving behind him the glorious report of his faith; and so having taught the whole world righteousness, and for that end travelled even to the utmost bounds of the West, he at last suffered martyrdom by the command of the governors, and departed out of the world, and went unto his holy place; being become a most eminent pattern of patience unto all ages" (§ 5).[a]

Clement, in the same First Epistle to the Corinthians, quoted by Dr. Milner (though apocryphal), is made to call James, our Lord's brother, "the Bishop of Bishops."[b]

[a] We have here adopted Archbishop Wake's Translation.

[b] "Episcopo Episcoporum."—See Concil. Lab. tom. i. col. 82E. Paris, 1671. Epist. Clement. Papæ I. ad Jacobum Fratrem Domini.

4. IRENÆUS.—The fourth witness cited is Irenæus:—"In the second century St. Irenæus, who had been instructed by St. Polycarp, the disciple of St. John the Evangelist, referring to the tradition of the Apostles preserved in the Church of Rome, calls it 'the greatest, most ancient, and most universally known, as having been founded by St. Peter and St. Paul; to which (he says) every church is bound to conform, by reason of its superior authority;'" and as a note is added,—"Ad hanc ecclesiam convenire necesse est omnem ecclesiam. —Contra Hæres. l. iii. c. 3."—(Letter xlvi. p. 441.)

As Irenæus lived at the latter half of the second century, his testimony as historical evidence deserves particular attention. By giving a garbled, truncated citation, which has not the merit of being even a translation, Dr. Milner hopes to press the respected name of this bishop into his rank of witnesses in proof of Peter's episcopate of Rome, and of his having the supremacy over all others. Irenæus wrote in Greek; but we rely almost solely on a Latin translation, and we have few means of testing its accuracy. The entire passage, so far as is applicable to the point in issue, is as follows:—

"The tradition of the Apostles, manifested throughout the whole world, may be seen in the Church by all who wish to hear the truth: and we can reckon up, both those who by the Apostles were appointed bishops in the churches, and the successors of those bishops down even to our own times.—But, since in such a volume as this it would occupy too much space to enumerate the successions of all the churches, we shall confound all those persons who, from whatever bad motive, make their deductions thus inaccurately, by simply indicating that apostolic tradition and that declared faith of the greatest and most ancient and universally known church, founded at Rome by the two most glorious Apostles Peter and Paul, which has come down even to us through the succession of her bishops. For to this church, on account of the more potent principality, it is necessary that every church should resort; that is to say, those faithful individuals who are on every side of it: in which church, by those who are on every side of it, the tradition, which is from the Apostles, has always been preserved. The blessed Apostles, then, founding and building up that church, delivered to Linus the office of administering it.—But to him succeeded Anacletus; and, after him, in the third place from the Apostles, Clement received the episcopate.—The successor of Clement was Euaristus; and, of Euaristus, Alexander. Next to him, the sixth from the Apostles, Sixtus was appointed; after him, Telesphorus:—next, Hyginus: then, Pius:

and then, Anicetus. But, when Soter had succeeded Anicetus, Eleutherius now holds the episcopate, in the twelfth place from the Apostles."[a]

With the entire passage before us, we have no difficulty in ascertaining the true value of the evidence adduced. We may safely admit, though it has not been satisfactorily proved, that at this time the Roman bishopric was a most potent see. Rome was the seat of the empire, and the most important city; but this is no reason for declaring that she had any ecclesiastical authority or jurisdiction over other churches. No such deduction can be drawn from the words of Irenæus. The deception lies in the insufficiency of the quotation of Dr. Milner; the words immediately following give the key to the passage, "For to this church, on account of the more potent principality, it is necessary that every church should resort." Now here Irenæus proceeds to explain his meaning, "that is to say, those faithful individuals who are on every side of it:" "eos qui sunt undique" cannot mean "every church," according to the sense Dr. Milner would desire to convey. To serve his own purpose, the doctor has thought proper to express the phrase of Irenæus by the English words *its superior authority*, thus compelling this venerable father to ascribe to the Roman Church a universal dominant supremacy; and in order that the context may fitly correspond with his somewhat diffuse rendering, he makes Irenæus state that every church is bound to conform "to the see of Rome."

The true sense of the passage is evident when compared with parallel passages from Tertullian and Jerome.

The passage from Tertullian is as follows:—

"Let heretics, then, produce the origin of their churches; let them evolve the order of their bishops, so running through successions from the beginning, that the first bishop should have for his author and predecessor some one either of the Apostles themselves, or of *apostolical men*, their contemporaries. For, in this manner, the *apostolical churches* carry down their enrolments. Thus, the church of the Smyrnæans relates itself to have Polycarp there placed by John. Thus the church of the Romans adduces Clement *ordained* by Peter [he does not say that Peter himself was bishop]. Thus, likewise, other churches exhibit those whom, being appointed by the Apostles to the episcopate, they have as the channels of the apostolic seed."—"Come now, thou who shalt wish better to exercise thy curiosity in the business of thy salvation; run through the

[a] The original text of this passage we have given above, pp. 61-2, note c.

apostolic churches in which the very *chairs of the apostles* are still in their own places occupied, in which their identical authentic letters are recited, sounding forth the voice, and representing the face, of each one. *Is Achaia near to thee? Thou hast Corinth. If thou art not far from Macedonia, thou hast Philippi, thou hast Thessalonica. If thou canst go into Asia, thou hast Ephesus. Or if thou art adjacent to Italy, thou hast Rome; whence also, to us Africans, there is an authority near at hand.* Happy Church, to which the Apostles, along with their own blood, poured out their whole doctrine!"[a]

We shall presently see that Tertullian considered all churches "conspiring in the same faith were accounted by him as apostolical churches, because of the consanguinity of doctrine;" and, with respect to churches planted by the Apostles, he considered them all of equal worth.

Jerome, of the Latin Church, writing to Pope Damasus, stated that he followed none as first but Christ, and was associated in communion with the Bishop of Rome (probably his own bishop, and certainly his intimate friend), but, being absent, and not being able to have recourse to him, he held to that bishop to whom he was nearest, namely, the "faithful Egyptians."[b] In fact, he declares that all bishops, in point of merit and dignity, are equal, and all of them are successors of the Apostles: "Wheresoever a bishop is, whether at Rome, or Eugubium, or Constantinople, or Alexandria, he is of the same worth and the same priesthood."[c] Irenæus himself bears testimony with regard to other churches to the following effect:—"This is a most full demonstration, that there is one and the same vivifying faith, which, in the Church, has been preserved and handed down in truth, from the Apostles even to the present time:—for the Church at Ephesus, founded, indeed, originally by Paul, but having John permanently residing among its members, even so late as the days of Trajan, is a true witness of that which was delivered by the Apostles."[d]

[a] —Age jam, qui, voles curiositatem melius exercere in negotio salutis tuæ, percurre ecclesias apostolicas, apud quas ipsæ adhuc cathedræ Apostolorum suis locis præsidentur, apud quas ipsæ authenticæ literæ eorum recitantur, sonantes vocem et repræsentantes faciem uniuscujusque. Proxima est tibi Achaia? Habes Corinthum. Si non longe es a Macedonia: habes Philippos; habes Thessalonicenses. Si potes in Asiam tendere: habes Ephesum. Si autem Italiæ adjaces: habes Romam; unde nobis quoque autoritas præsto est. Felix ecclesia, cui totam doctrinam Apostoli cum sanguine suo profuderunt, &c. —Tertull. Præscript. adv. Hæret. sec. 11, 14. Oper. pp. 107, 108, 109, edit. Bea. Rhenani, 1550; and capp. 32, 36, p. 216, Paris, 1675.

[b] Epist. ad Damas. lvii. tom. ii. p. 175. Paris, 1602. See *infrà*, title "Jerome."

[c] Hier. ad Evag. vol. iv. par. 2, Ep. ci. alias lxxxv. p. 803. Paris, 1706. See *infrà*, "Jerome."

[d] Et est plenissima hæc ostensio, unam et eandem vivificatricem fidem esse,

With these extracts before us, it is abundantly evident, that in any question of doctrine or discipline arising among the members of adjacent churches, or in the provinces, Irenæus recommends that appeal should be made to the nearest apostolically founded Metropolitan Mother-Church, to which the "faithful who are on every side of it should resort."

This passage, therefore, can in no way assist the cause of "Papal Supremacy."

But Dr. Milner, in order yet further to establish his position from Irenæus, adduces (after others) the supposed exercise of a predominant authority in the case of the Roman Bishop Victor—the circumstances attendant on which we should otherwise have viewed as supplying proof sufficient that the Bishop of Rome had *not* any rightful ecclesiastical jurisdiction over other churches.

"I must add," writes Dr. Milner, "that, at this early period, Pope Victor exerted his superior authority, by threatening the bishops of Asia with excommunication for their irregularity in celebrating Easter, with the other moveable feasts; from which rigorous measure he was deterred chiefly by St. Irenæus (Euseb. Eccl. Hist. l. v. c. 24)."—(p. 441.)

The following is shortly the history of the matter. Victor was the first bishop who appears to have interfered with the liberties of other Churches. He wrote to the bishops of the East, desiring them to keep Easter-day on the Sunday, and unable to answer their arguments in favour of their view of the subject, who, following the old Jewish custom, kept the day on the fourteenth day after the first new moon that followed the vernal equinox: cut short the dispute, by withdrawing himself from their communion, or, if the Romanists prefer the expression, excommunicating the churches of the East; and thus the guilt of the first schism lies at his door. But the Eastern bishops wholly disregarded his threats, for the quarrel continued for 120 years after, when the question was settled at the Council of Nice, A.D. 325.

Victor, Bishop of Rome, on this occasion, took upon himself, with overbearing assumption, to act for the Western bishops: and although he held the largest and a most important see, the other Western bishops exhorted (Rufinus says

quæ in Ecclesia ab Apostolis usque nunc sit conservata et tradita in veritate. —Sed et quæ est Ephesi Ecclesia a Paulo quidem fundata, Ioanne autem permanente apud eos usque ad Trajani tempora, testis est verus Apostolorum traditionis. — Iren. adv. Hær. lib. iii. c. 3, pp. 171, 172, edit. Genevæ, 1570.

jubebant, commanded) him to desist, but rather to seek the peace and unity of the Church. Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, on the part of the bishops of Gaul, wrote to the Bishop of Rome, rebuking him most severely. The following extract is a literal translation of the transaction as related by Eusebius himself, to whom Dr. Milner pretends to refer us :—

"Upon this, Victor, Bishop of Rome, immediately attempted to cut off from the communion, the whole of Asia with the neighbouring churches, as having given their assent to heterodox opinions, and he notified it in letters proclaiming all the brethren who dwelt there to be excommunicated. But this did not please all the bishops. They exhorted him rather to consult peace, and neighbourly unity and love. And their letters are now extant, wherein *they have sharply rebuked* Victor. (*Φέρονται δὲ καὶ αἱ τουτῶν φωναὶ, πληκτικώτερον καθαπτομένων τοῦ* Βίκτορος.) Among whom Irenæus, having written in the name of the brethren of Gaul, over whom he presided, maintains indeed that the mystery of our Lord's resurrection ought to be celebrated only upon a Sunday, but admonishes Victor in many other words not to cut off whole churches of God for observing an ancient custom, handed down to them by tradition." [a]

5. TERTULLIAN.—As the fifth witness we have Tertullian: Dr. Milner thus introduces him (Letter xlvi. p. 441) :—

"Tertullian, a priest of the Roman Church, who flourished near the same time [namely, the latter end of the second century], calls St. Peter 'the Rock of the Church,' and says, 'that the Church was built upon him.'—(Prescript. l. i. c. 22. De Monagam.) Speaking of the Bishop of Rome, he terms him in different places, 'the Blessed Pope, the High Priest, the Apostolic Prelate.'" And to this latter portion of the quotation no reference is vouchsafed.

Dr. Milner certainly relied on good Mr. Brown, of the "New Cottage," being unprovided with a Tertullian; but we, out of the circle of that little happy *coterie*, are well provided with copies of all the Fathers of the Church, and what is more, we know a little of their contents, and are therefore in no way dismayed, when we see arrayed against us so many learned references. Now the fact is, that Tertullian, so far from admitting the Pope's superior jurisdiction or primacy, on the plea of his being the successor of St. Peter, directly and most distinctly opposed him; he declared him to be a *usurper;* that whatever privilege Peter may have received of Christ, it was a *personal* grant to him, and not in

[a] Eusebius, Hist. Eccles. lib. v. c. 24. Coloniæ, 1612.

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any way to be inherited by his successors. His words are: "Concerning this opinion of yours, I ask whence dost thou arrogate this authority to your church? If because our Lord said to Peter, 'On this rock I will build my Church; *to thee* have I given the keys of the kingdom of heaven; *or* whatsoever ye shall bind or loose on earth shall be bound or loosed in heaven;' therefore thou presumest to have acquired the power of binding and loosing to thyself, that is, to all the churches allied to Peter (*Petri propinquam*).—Who art thou overturning and changing the manifest intention of our Lord, conferring this *personally* (*personaliter*) to Peter, 'ON THEE,' he says, 'I will build my Church, and will give *to thee* the keys (not to the Church); and whatsoever *thou* shalt bind and loose,' not what *they* shall bind and loose?"[a]

With respect to *personal* succession, Tertullian had no particular regard, if succession of *doctrine* were maintained; "as the doctrine of a church when it is diverse from, or contrary unto, that of the Apostles, shows it not to be an apostolic church, though it pretend to be founded by an Apostle; so those churches that cannot produce any of the Apostles, or apostolic men, for their founders (being much later, and newly constituted), yet conspiring in the same faith, are nevertheless to be accounted apostolical churches, because of the *consanguinity of doctrine.*"[b]

Again, Tertullian clearly expresses himself on the meaning of "Apostolic Church." He had no idea of confining that title to any peculiar church. "Immediately after, therefore, the Apostles, ... first having through Judæa borne witness to the faith in Jesus Christ, and established churches, next went forth into the world, and preached the same doctrine of the same faith to the nations, and forthwith founded churches in every city, from whence the other churches thenceforward borrowed the tradition and the seeds of doctrine, and are daily borrowing them, that they have become churches. And from *this cause* they are themselves also accounted apostolical, as being the offspring of apostolical churches. The whole kind must needs be classed under their

[a] De tua nunc sententia, quæro, unde hoc jus Ecclesiæ usurpes? Si, quia dixerit Petro Dominus; *Super hanc petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam, tibi dedi claves regni cœlestis;* vel *Quæcunque alligaveritis vel solveritis in terra, erunt alligata vel soluta in cœlis:* idcirco præsumis, et ad te derivasse solvendi et alligandi potestatem, id est, ad omnem Ecclesiam Petri propinquam: qualis es, evertens atque commutans manifestam Domini intentionem PERSONALITER hoc Petro conferentem. *Super* TE, inquit, *ædificabo Ecclesiam meam: et dabo* TIBI *claves (non ecclesiæ)*: et, *quæcunque* SOLVERIS *vel* ALLIGAVERIS, non *quæ solverint vel alligaverint.*—Tertull. de Pudic. Oper. pp. 767, 768, edit. Beat. Rhenan.; and cap. 21, tom. iv. p. 432, Halæ Magd. 1771.

[b] Lib. de Præscript. cap. 32, p. 213. Paris, 1695.

original. Wherefore these churches, so many and so great, are but that one primitive Church from the *Apostles* [not from the Apostle Peter], whence they all spring. Thus all are primitive, all are apostolical, all are one. The communion of peace, the title of brotherhood, and the token of hospitality, prove this unity, which right no other principle directeth than the unity of the tradition of the same mystery (viz., faith in Jesus Christ)."[a] What can be more plain than this acknowledgment? How inconsistent with the idea that the Church of Rome was the mother and mistress of all churches, the source of unity, *the* Apostolic Church—to the exclusion of all other churches, as is pretended at the present day!

With regard to churches planted by the Apostles, he considers them all of equal worth: "They are all first and all apostolic."[b]

These sentiments, if uttered by a modern Romanist, would be considered rank heresy.

We have already seen that Tertullian did not consider the Roman Church the Apostolic Church. He named several others, which were to be consulted and appealed to by those in their respective and immediate districts, in matters of faith as well as morals—an admission completely at variance with any idea of a dominant supremacy in the Church of Rome, had such existed. If Tertullian held any person as supreme in the Church, it was not the Bishop of Rome, but the Emperor. "We reverence [he says] and worship the Emperor, as a man inferior only to God; we offer sacrifice for the health of the Emperor; we pray for his health."[c] "We in the Emperors reverence the judgment of God, who has set them over the nations; we know that in them is that which God hath willed," &c.[d]

Dr. Milner informs us that Tertullian called the Bishop of Rome "Blessed Pope, the High Priest, the Apostolic Prelate." In reply, we quote the following extract from Barrow: "Clement, Bishop of Rome, in his Epistle to St. James, calls St. James 'The Bishop of Bishops;' the Clementine Recognitions call him 'the Prince of Bishops;' Rufinus, in his translation of Eusebius, calls James 'the Bishop of the

[a] De Præscript. Hær. cap. 20, edit. as above.

[b] Omnes primæ, omnes apostolicæ.—Tert. de Præscript. cap. 20, and see edit. Patr. Caill. tom. v. p. 376. Paris, 1842.

[c] Colimus imperatorem,—ut hominem a Deo secundum;—sacrificamus pro salute imperatoris;—oramus pro salute imperatoris, &c.—Tertull. ad Scapulum, cap. 2.

[d] Tertull. Apol. sec. xxxii.

Apostles,' &c."[a] The title "Bishop of Bishops" was a common appellation among the early Christians. Many instances might be adduced. Rufinus (lib. ii. cap. 26) called Athanasius "Pontificem Maximum," chief Bishop; and Adrian, Bishop of Rome, wrote to Tharasius, Bishop of Constantinople, and addressed him, "To my well-beloved brother Tharasius, universal patriarch."[b] But how does Tertullian introduce this epithet of "Bishop of Bishops?" In the commencement of the treatise De Pudicitia he exclaims, "Audio etiam edictum esse propositum, et quidem peremptorium. Pontifex scilicet Maximus, Episcopus Episcoporum, edicit: *Ego et mœchiæ et fornicationis delicta pœnitentia functis dimitto.* O edictum, cui adscribi non poterit.—Bonum factum!"[c] I very much doubt whether any Romanist, with this passage before him, will say that Tertullian was speaking in *praise* of the Bishop of Rome when he designated him "Bishop of Bishops!"

Tertullian had fallen into the heresy of the Montanists when this was written, but this will not assist Dr. Milner, for it is he who quotes him as an authority.

5. ORIGEN.—With a brevity usually adopted by those who tread on uncertain ground, all that Dr. Milner says of this Father is, "In the third century, we hear Origen," and his reference is "Hom. 5, in Exod.; Hom. 17, in Luc."

These references are indeed showy enough, but are most unfortunate, if intended to supply evidence of inerrability or infallibility, and then in due order, of the supreme authority of the occupant of the Papal See. In the one case, the Apostle is certainly spoken of as a "Princeps Apostolorum," a phrase easily explainable, but in immediate connection with, and as if to heighten the guilt of, his denial of the Saviour—"*tertio denagarit;*"[d] and in the other, though termed a "*petra solidissima,*" yet here cited as an instance of weak faith—*modicæ fidei* (Matt. xiv. 31);[e] the Apostle thus, as it were, showing that he too, as if refusing the inerrability, which Rome would thrust upon him for her own interest, and to secure dominion by quoting his name, "was himself also a man" (Acts x. 26). Any way, what possible resemblance is to be found to the Apostle—a most solid rock, a pillar of the Church—in the time-serving, trading, managing, persecuting sectarianism of Rome!

[a] Barrow, on the Supremacy, p. 111. London, 1849, wherein the references are fully given and verified.

[b] Surius, Concil. tom. iii. p. 72. Col. Agr. 1567.

[c] Tertul. de Pudic. Leipsic edit. 1839, Part ii. p. 135; and edit. Rhenan. cap. 1, p. 742; and Halæ Magd. 1771, p. 365.

[d] Tom. iii. p. 952, edit. Paris, 1733. [e] Tom. ii. 145.

6. "ST. CYPRIAN," Dr. Milner tells us, "repeatedly affirms that the Church was 'founded on Peter,' that he 'fixed his chair at Rome,' that this is 'the Mother Church,' and 'the root of Catholicity;'" the references for all being sufficiently vague, viz., "Ep. ad Cornel., Ep. ad Anton., De Unit., &c."

Besides the convenient generality of these references, the meaning to be attached to such metaphorical expressions as "the root of Catholicity," &c. (Cypr. Ep. 44 or 45), is by no means settled amongst adherents of Rome itself, among those at least who are not mere partisans.[a] Tertullian makes use of the same language (De Præscript. cap. 21), but in a way that rescues the term altogether from the exclusive use of modern Rome. His words are quite Catholic: "Si hæc ita sunt, constat proinde omnem doctrinam, quæ cum illis Ecclesiis Apostolicis, *matricibus*, et originalibus fidei conspiret veritati deputandam." And yet Perrone,[b] the Jesuit lecturer of Rome, refers to this very chapter of the "Prescriptions," as, though not directly mentioning the primacy of Peter, yet implying it! There is not a word leading in that direction, and it is a base imposition on the reader to let him imagine anything of the kind; it is to the Catholic churches, not the mere local Church of Rome, that the language is applicable. So little, however, is there, in fact, honestly to be used for the special elevation of the Roman See by quotations from *Cyprian*, that it is a notorious fact, proved beyond dispute, that the later Roman edition of Cyprian's works, 1563, and those which are reprinted from it, have been most shamefully corrupted, in order to introduce Peter's primacy, and the chair of Peter, in just that particular treatise to which Dr. Milner has bravely referred, in order to support the claim of the Roman Pontiff;[c] and Rigault, a Roman commentator on Cyprian's works, admits that they have in these places been corrupted by interpolation.[d] Of what value, then, are Dr. Milner's references, particularly when the exclusive applicability of the words to Papal Rome is left unproved. Were we to go to any armoury in the third century, which, either by plain inference, or direct statement, furnishes weapons against the supremacy of the Roman See, we should have recourse to the letters of Cyprian.[e]

[a] Lumper, "Hist. Theologico-Critica de Vitis Patrum," Aug. Vind. 1798, tom. xii. p. 587.

[b] Prælectiones Theologicæ, tom. ii. 217, ed. Mediolani, 1845, sec. 503.

[c] See James's treatise on the "Corruption of the Fathers," &c., reprint, London, 1843, pp. 75 and 82.

[d] See the Oxford edition of the works of Cyprian, 1682, vol. i. p. 106, where the whole subject is examined.

[e] "Journal of Sacred Literature," July, 1856, p. 284. Perrone and others

But before we dismiss this Roman edition of Cyprian—we mean that which was "corrected" by order of Pius IV., under the superintendence of four Cardinals, printed by Paulus Manutius, and from which, and other editions, expressions have been copied—let us remark, that in order to make Cyprian speak in favour of the Pope's supremacy, passages have been introduced which do not appear to have been in the original or early copies, while other passages directly against the idea of a Papal supremacy are expunged; for instance, in the epistle written by Firmilian, bishop of Cæsarea, to Cyprian, and which Pamelius himself acknowledges that Cyprian translated into Latin; when speaking of the arrogance of Stephen, bishop of Rome, in the claim to be supreme, as the successor of Peter, he expresses his "just indignation at the manifest folly of Stephen, that boasting so much of his bishopric, and that he hath the succession of Peter, upon whom the foundations of the Church were set, brings in many other rocks," &c.; and adds, "What a mighty sin hast thou heaped up to thyself, in that thou hast cut thyself off from so many flocks! For do not deceive thyself: it is thou that hast cut off thine own self. He, verily, is the real schismatic, who has made himself an apostate from the communion of ecclesiastical unity. For, while thou thinkest that all may be separated from thee, thou hast merely separated thyself from all."[a] This passage is omitted from many editions.[b]

We are told that Cyprian calls Rome "the Mother Church," and "the root of Catholicity." In these expressions Dr. Milner finds an acknowledgment of the universal jurisdiction of that see; and he can discover no denial of it in Cyprian's resolute refusal to conform with its ordinances.

Cyprian, it is well known, is claimed by both parties. Dr. Milner, however, in adducing passages from this Father, which may seem at first sight to support the Papal supremacy, has, according to his usual practice, entirely omitted to take notice of those which make against his hypothesis, or to endeavour to reconcile the seeming discrepancy of this

strive to make up for the loss of these surreptitiously introduced passages, by affirming that other parts of Cyprian's writings testify as liberally to St. Peter's dominant authority, and that the letter of Pelagius II., a bishop of Rome in 580, helps to verify the identical passage objected to. But we, with Baluze, ask (note on Cyprian de Unitat. Eccles. cap. 2), what is the character and age of the MS. containing the Epistle of Pelagius?

[a] And yet Perrone, the Jesuit lecturer at Rome, refers to this very letter as furnishing indirect proof of St. Peter's dominion over the Church Universal.—See Prælect. Theolog. tom. ii. p. 218 (ed. Mediolani, 1845), sec. 503.

[b] See, among other editions, edit. Oxon. 1682; Firmil. Epist. 75, in Oper. Cyprian. vol. ii. pp. 218, 224, 225, 228, &c.; Col. Agrip. Epist. 75, pp. 114, 117, for these passages.

Father's testimony. "One of these things, however," says Mosheim, "must be true; either that one of the parties misunderstands Cyprian, or that Cyprian was at variance with himself, and had no clear notions of the nature of Church authority." For the candid exposition of this Father's real opinion respecting the precedency which he attributed to the successors of St. Peter in the See of Rome, and for the most probable mode of reconciling his various assertions, the reader will do well to consult Mosheim's sensible remarks, in a note on the De Reb. Christianor. ante Constant. sec. 3, s. 23. From that work we shall content ourselves with bringing together a few passages, in which Cyprian, in the most express terms, denies all jurisdiction in the Roman bishop over the Church of Carthage; leaving them with this observation, that if the authority of this writer is to be appealed to, the more obscure and doubtful expressions of his meaning, such as are those alleged by the Romanists, are, on every just principle of interpretation, to be explained by those which are perspicuous and explicit.

The general reason assigned by the African bishop for the superiority of the Roman See, is this:—"Rome for its magnitude ought to precede Carthage"[a] (Ep. 49). Hence he calls it, "Ecclesia principalis,"—that is, says Rigaltius himself, "Ecclesia in urbe principali constituta,"—in Ep. 55 (quoted by Dr. Milner). In his letters to Cornelius, Bishop of Rome, he addresses him on a footing of perfect equality, and freely reproves his errors; which affords a strong presumption, until removed by positive proof, that he admitted no superiority of jurisdiction. In the question of rebaptizing heretics, he acquaints Stephanus with the decree passed in the African synod, not for the purpose of approval and ratification; but, as he expressly says, "pro honore communi et pro simplici dilectione" (Epist. 72). And when Stephanus disapproves the sentence, and returns an imperious answer, Cyprian, so far from submitting, procures the confirmation of the decree in still stronger terms, in another synod convened for that very purpose. The excommunication issued in consequence, by Stephanus, was nothing more, in point of fact, than a separation of himself and his church from the communion of Cyprian and the African bishops; and not, as the comparatively modern sense of the word imports, the pretence of separating Cyprian from the Church of Christ. To this pitch of arrogance the Roman bishops had not then arrived. But, whatever it might have been, it was contemned

[a] Quoniam pro magnitudine sua debeat Carthaginem Roma præcedere.—Epist. 49.

by the Father and his Church. The principle of Cyprian's resistance is best explained by his words. In Epist. 71, ad Quintum, he denies that Peter himself had any primacy of jurisdiction, and if not Peter, much less his successors; for he wrote:—"Nor did Peter, whom the Lord first chose, and upon whom he built his Church, when afterward Paul disputed with him concerning circumcision, claim or assume anything to himself insolently or arrogantly; so as to say, that he himself held the primacy, and that by posterity obedience ought to be paid to him rather than to Paul.[a] So far from deferring to the authority of the Roman Pontiff, he extravagantly exalts the rights and independence of the episcopal order. In his address to the Carthaginian Council, he uses these words:—"For none of us has set himself up as the bishop of bishops, or has driven, by tyrannical fear, his colleagues to the necessity of obeying him, since every bishop has his own will for the exercise of his liberty and power, and can be no more judged by another than he can judge another. But let us all wait for the judgment of our universal Lord Jesus Christ, who *alone* has the power both to place us in the government of his Church and to judge of the quality of our actions."[b] Agreeably to these high notions of the episcopal office, he severely reprimands Cornelius for interfering in behalf of the schismatics Fortunatus and Felicissimus, who had been condemned by the African bishops. After these, and similar passages which might be adduced, Dr. Milner's quotations from Cyprian may be safely passed over unnoticed.

It is alleged, however, that where Cyprian was not himself concerned, he fully acknowledged the Pope's supremacy, by advising him "to depose Marcian, a schismatical bishop of Gaul, and to appoint another bishop in his place" (Letter xlvi. p. 441). The words of Cyprian are here misrepresented, or misunderstood. He does but advise Stephanus to write to the bishops of Gaul *in the fullest manner;* "ut

[a] Nam nec Petrus, quem primum Dominus elegit, et super quem ædificavit Ecclesiam suam, cum secum Paulus de circumcisione postmodum disceptaret, vindicavit sibi aliquid insolenter aut arroganter assumpsit: ut diceret se primatum tenere; et obtemperari, a novellis et posteris, sibi potius oportere.—Cyprian. Epist. Quint. lxxi. Oper. vol. ii. pp. 194, 195, Oxon. 1682, and Col. Agrip. 1617, p. 102.

[b] Neque enim quisquam nostrûm Episcopum se esse Episcoporum constituit, aut tyrannico terrore ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos adigit; quando *habeat omnis Episcopus pro licentia libertatis et potestatis suæ arbitrium proprium;* tamque judicari ab alio non possit, quam nec ipse potest *alterum judicare.* Sed expectemus universi judicium Domini nostri J. C., *qui unus et solus habet potestatem et præponendi nos in Ecclesiæ suæ gubernatione et de actu nostro judicandi.*—Sententia 87, Episcop. Synod. Carthag. Labbe et Coss. tom. i. col. 786, Paris, 1671; and Oper. Cyp. tom. i. p. 229, Oxon. 1682.

plenissimas litteras ad Galliarum episcopos faciat," exhorting them no longer to suffer Marcian, the friend of Novatian, to insult the episcopal college.[a] He does not suggest to the Bishop of Rome to depose him by his own authority; and if he had, it would not make for the Romanists' purpose; as in that case, Cyprian must have supposed that the jurisdiction of Rome extended over Gaul, although we find him denying, which is sufficient for our purpose, that it extended to Carthage. He bids him stir up the bishops of Gaul to the act of deposition:—"And who knows not," observes Mosheim, "that we daily exhort others to do acts, when we possess no power or authority over them, to enforce obedience?"[b]

7. JEROME.—As we propose to return to this part of Dr. Milner's work, and in order not to weary our readers by a continuation of the same subject, we shall conclude for the present our examination of the evidence of "the Fathers," with the testimony of Jerome;—the last Father appealed to; and of St. Jerome, whom Dr. Milner introduces as follows:—

"Finally, the learned St. Jerome, being distracted with the disputes among three parties which divided the Church of Antioch, to which church he was then subject, wrote for directions on this head to Pope Damasus, as follows:—'I, who am but a sheep, apply to my shepherd for succour. I am united in communion with your holiness, that is to say, with the Chair of Peter. I know that the Church is built upon that *rock*. He who eats the paschal lamb out of that house is profane. Whoever is not in Noah's Ark, will perish by the deluge. I know nothing of Vitalis, I reject Meletius, I am ignorant of Paulinus;[c] he who does not gather with thee, scatters.'—*Ep. ad Damas.*"[d]

Being pressed by the Bishop of Antioch respecting the persons of the Trinity, Jerome thus addressed the Pontiff:—"A sacerdote victimam salutis, a pastore præsidium ovis flagito. Facessat invidia, Romani culminis recedat ambitio; cum successore piscatoris et discipulo crucis loquor. *Ego nullum primum, nisi Christum, sequens;* beatitudini tuæ, id est, cathe-

[a] Ne ultra Marcianum, Novatiani amicum, Collegio Episcoporum insultare patiantur.—Epist. 67.

[b] "The two Main Questions," &c., p. 285: Jackson. Dublin, 1825.

[c] Dr. Wiseman, with his usual infelicity, says that these three claimants were "men of suspected faith."—Moorfield Lectures, VIII., p. 284, edit. London, 1836. He was apparently ignorant that while the faith of Vitalis was more than suspected, Paulinus was supported, throughout the struggle, by the See of Rome, and that the name of Meletius stands for worship in the Latin Martyrology, Feb. 12, p. 27.—Robins's "Whole Evidence against the Church of Rome," p. 119, a volume well deserving the reader's best attention.

[d] Letter xlvi. 443.

dræ Petri, communione consocior. Super illam Petram ædificatam Ecclesiam scio," &c.[a]

The learned reader will be surprised when he is told that the above extract is the original from Jerome, of which Dr. Milner purports to give a *perfect* translation. According to him the Pope is identified with the shepherd, and his *Holiness* and *St. Peter's Chair* are represented as the foundation of the Church? No allusion whatever is made to Christ,—the Shepherd to whose flock this Father said he belonged,—the Leader *whom alone* Jerome would follow, and the *Rock* on which the Church was built; yet this is the true import of his words. And what proves it to be so is this, that Jerome speaks in the sequel of attaching himself to the Egyptian confessors, whom he calls Damasus's *colleagues*, which he certainly would not have done had he considered him as the alone supreme governor and director of the Church. "As I cannot [he writes] always have recourse to you, I hold to the Egyptians, who present the same faith as Rome;" evidently considering *doctrine* as a test of the true Church, as he says in another place, "The Church does not consist of walls, but of true doctrine. Wherever the true faith is, there is the Church."[b] He paid due deference, it is true, to the Bishop of Rome, but this was no acknowledgment of the absolute superiority of the occupier of the see; since, after desiring him to lay aside the fancied importance of his rank (Romani *culminis* ambitio), he brings him down to a level with himself, when he addresses him as the successor of the fisherman, and a disciple of the Cross.

But the gist of the extract consists in the epithet "*beatitudini* tuæ" (translated by Dr. Milner, "your holiness"), as addressed to the Bishop of Rome. This and similar titles were most common among the early Christians. John, patriarch of Constantinople, was addressed as "the *most holy* and blessed universal patriarch."[c] Cornelius, bishop of Rome (in the fabricated Epist. ii.), writing to Bishop Rufus, is made to call him "tuæ sanctitati," *literally*, "your holiness." Augustine, writing to a priest, and even to a layman, uses the same expression.[d]

This letter of Jerome, written from Antioch (whither he had gone, as he says of himself, "pro meis facinoribus") to

[a] Hier. Oper. tom. ii. Epist. lvii. p. 175. Paris edit. 1602.

[b] Jerome in Psalm cxxxiii. tom. vii. p. 388. Paris, 1602.

[c] Sanctissimo atque beatissimo œcumenico Patriarchæ Joh. Const., &c.—Surius Concil. tom. ii. p. 436. Col. Agrip. 1567.

[d] Ad sanctitatem tuam scripsit.—(Aug. de Orig. Anim. lib. ii. cap. 1, tom. x., edit. Ben.) Hinc angor, quod sanctitati tuæ minus quam vellem cognitus sum.—Ibid. lib. i. cap. 2.

Damasus, Bishop of Rome, in whose Church he had been baptized, and in communion with which he remained, "unde olim Christi vestimenta suscepi," was, in fact, one *of mere consultation* respecting the propriety of adopting the new and insidious mode, introduced by the Arians, of expressing the Nicene doctrine of the Trinity. "Ideo mihi Cathedram Petri . . . . *censui consulendam.*" The Roman faith was at that time incorrupt; the Eastern tainted with Arianism. "Nunc in Occidente sol justitiæ oritur; in Oriente, Lucifer ille," &c. Wherefore, Jerome makes it his boast, "*Ego nullum primum, nisi Christum, sequens,* beatitudini tuæ, id est, Cathedræ Petri, communione consocior."

He disavows all connection with the heretical churches of the East, and describes himself, *in following Christ alone,* to be joined in communion with the See of St. Peter; "upon which rock" ("non super Petram, ut arbitror," says the Romish scholiast, "sed super fidem quam Petrus professus est"), or upon Peter's ministry, "the Church of Christ itself had been originally built." *This universal Church of Christ,* founded on Peter, and not the particular Church of Rome, was "the Noah's ark" into which whoever entered not must perish—the temple in which whoever ate not the Lamb was profane; and it was a fair consequence, drawn by Jerome, that they "who gathered not with Damasus and his church, scattered;" because Damasus and his church held, *in that age,* the genuine faith of the Church of Christ.

But, says the same scholiast, "Fieri potest, ut Roma quoque degeneret." In which case Jerome would no longer have boasted that he was joined in communion with her bishop; he, who says of himself, "*Nullum primum, nisi Christum, sequens.*" THESE IMPORTANT WORDS, WHICH GIVE A NEW TURN TO THE QUOTATION, ARE WHOLLY OMITTED BY DR. MILNER.[a]

That[b] Jerome pointed to CHRIST as the *Rock* on which the Church was built, is evident from other parts of his writings. He says:—"But the Catholic Church which is founded with a firm root upon the Rock Christ stands," &c.[c] "Christ is the Rock who granted to the Apostles (*Apostolis*) that they also should be called rocks."[d] "We are all built upon the foundation of the Apostles, Jesus Christ our Lord the corner-stone holding us together;—and as we are founded on the

[a] Jackson's "Two Main Questions stated in controversy between the Churches of England and Rome," &c., p. 244. Dublin, 1825.

[b] The following is taken from Collette's "Pope's Supremacy, a Thing of Priestcraft," p. 118. London, 1852.

[c] Jerome, "Ad Principiam Virginem," tom. iii. p. 173. Paris, 1602.

[d] In Amos, lib. iii. cap. 6, tom. v. p. 263.

Prophets, so did the Patriarchs stand upon the foundation of the Apostles."[a] He is still more explicit in his commentary on the 60th Psalm:—"He" [David], says he, "is exalted in Christ, who, according to the Apostles, is called both the firm Hope and the Rock of believers. Thou hast exalted me upon a rock, that is to say upon Thyself, as the following passage declares. 'But the rock was Christ?' *Petrus*, Peter, was derived from *Petra*, the rock; whence the Lord said, 'Thou art Peter (*Petrus*), and upon this rock (*Petram*) I will build my Church.' And in another place. The floods came and the winds blew, and they beat upon that house, and it did not fall; for it was founded upon the firm rock (*quæ est Christus*) which is Christ."[b]

Again, in alluding to "the Church" he did not mean the Roman Church, for, as we have seen, he considered that wherever the *true faith* was to be found, "there is the Church." "The Church," he says, "is collected from many persons, and yet she is called one, on account of the *unity of faith*."[c] "The Church is an assemblage of various nations."[d] And though he believed Peter to have been the founder of the Church, yet he gives him no precedence over the other Apostles; all enjoyed, he remarks, the same eminence, and that *equally*, though one was selected as a head man, and to guard against divisions; and that such precedence was, in St. Peter's case, owing to his age.[e] Not a word here, so far as we can discern, of *Lord* Peter.

Admitting, then, that Jerome considered the Bishop of Rome to be the successor of St. Peter, Dr. Milner does not advance his cause one *iota* by an appeal to his writings, for he is directly opposed to the idea of a Bishop of Bishops, or one Supreme Bishop in the Church. The title Pope was not at that period peculiar to the Bishop of Rome, for Jerome himself, writing to Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria, addresses[f] him as "most blessed Pope" (*amantissime et beatissime Papa*). According to his doctrine, all bishops of the Church were equal. "Bishops," he writes, "should recollect that they are superior to elders, rather by custom than by virtue of the Lord's appointment (*et in communi debere Ecclesiam regere*), and that they ought to rule the Church in common."[g]

[a] Comment. lib. ii. in Epist. ad Galat. cap. 4, tom. vi. p. 308.
[b] Comment. in Psalm lx. tom. vii. p. 178.
[c] Ib. Psalm xxiii. p. 76.
[d] Ib. Psalm xx. p. 67.
[e] Ætati delatum est, quia Petrus senior erat. — Hieron. contra Jovin. lib. i. cap. 14, vol. iv. p. 168, ed. Paris, 1706.
[f] Ep. 71, tom. i. 250, ed. Col. Agrip. 1616.
[g] Epist. ad Titum, lib. i. cap. 1, tom. vi. Paris, 1706.

We shall conclude by quoting the following well-known passage, which is conclusive evidence that Jerome was opposed to the doctrine of "supremacy:"—

"With the exception of ordination, what does a bishop do which an elder does not? The church of the Roman city is not to be deemed one thing, and the Church of the whole world another. Gaul, and *Britain*, and Africa, and Persia, and India, and all foreign nations adore one Christ, and observe one rule of truth. If you look for authority, the world is greater than a city. WHERESOEVER A BISHOP IS, WHETHER AT ROME, or Eugubium, or Constantinople, or Alexandria, or Tmuis, he is of the same worth, and the same priesthood (*ejusdem meriti, ejusdem sacerdotii*). Neither the power of riches nor the inferior outward condition of poverty makes a bishop either higher or lower. But all are the successors of the Apostles. Why do you quote to me the custom of one city merely?"[a]

So much then for the testimony of *Saint* Jerome.

No. XIII.

CHILLINGWORTH AND HOOKER MISREPRESENTED.

Dr. Milner's unfairness in quotations from Protestants.

THE "End of Religious Controversy" contains passages from Chillingworth and Hooker, almost every one of which is either garbled or misrepresented. To a consideration of these we shall confine the present article, and trust that it may prove instrumental in leading some of our readers to the study of those masterly divines.

It will be proper to notice, in the first place, the manner in which Dr. Milner has introduced the "inconstant Chillingworth," as he has been pleased to term him, to the readers of his work of equivocal celebrity:—

"Chillingworth," says Dr. Milner, "was first a Protestant of the Establishment: he next became a Catholic, and studied in one of our seminaries. He then returned, *in part*, to his former creed: and last of all, he gave in to *Socinianism, which his writings greatly promoted.*"[b]

Surely, when the learned prelate laid this heavy charge upon the memory of a departed Christian, it was incumbent on him to have substantiated it with some degree of evidence;

[a] Jerome, ad Evag. tom. ii. p. 512, edit. Paris, 1602; and tom. iv. ep. 101, p. 803, Paris, 1706. Epist. 146, Vallarsii.

[b] Letter viii. p. 97.

how far it is supported by fact will be seen by an appeal to these "writings" themselves.

When Knot, the Jesuit, accused our great divine of Socinian heresy, his reply was, "that he believed the doctrine of the Trinity, the deity of our Saviour, and all other supernatural verities revealed in Scripture, as *heartily as any man.*"[a]

"To clear myself once for all," he adds, "from all imputations of this nature, which charge me injuriously with denial of supernatural verities, I profess sincerely, that I believe all those books of Scripture which the Church of England accounts canonical to be the infallible Word of God; I believe all things evidently contained in them; all things evidently, or even probably deducible from them: I acknowledge all that to be heresy, which by the Act of Parliament primo of Queen Elizabeth is declared to be so, and only to be so. And though in such points which may be held diversely by divers men *salvâ Fidei compage*, I would not take any man's liberty from him, and humbly beseech all men that they would not take mine from me; yet thus much I can say (which I hope will satisfy any man of reason), that whatsoever hath been held necessary to salvation, either by the Catholic Church of all ages, or by the consent of Fathers, measured by Vincentius Lirinensis his rule, or is held necessary, either by the Catholic Church of this age, or by the consent of Protestants, or even by the Church of England, that, *against the Socinians*, and all others whatsoever, I do verily believe and embrace."[b]

The above is taken from the preface to his "Religion of Protestants, a safe way to Salvation," where more to the same purport occurs; and where he condescends to prove, that even his adversary could not have believed the things which he had alleged against him. But we trust here is enough to convince our readers that the work above named is quite guiltless of Socinianism; for no man who values his character for consistency a rush, would *advocate* a doctrine in his *book*, which he had just *abjured* in his *preface*.

Moreover the work was licensed, and its orthodoxy avouched by Doctors Prideaux, Fell, and Potter; three sound and learned divines of the Church of England.

We have also the valuable testimony of Dr. Cheynell, a bigoted fanatic of the parliamentary party, and one of Chillingworth's most bitter opponents during the heat of the civil wars, that the latter adhered to the doctrines and principles of his book to the last. For proof of this, we refer our readers to Cheynell's "Chillingworthi Novissima," from whence the following passages are taken:—

"You that were the licencers of his [Chillingworth's] subtle atheism," says Cheynell, "repent, repent; for he was so hardened by your flattery, that (for

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[a] The reader should understand that Chillingworth was threatened with having this stigma fixed on his character, if he should attempt to refute the Jesuit author of "Charity Maintained," and in his reply to that author in which he contradicts the slander.

[b] Chillingworth's Rel. of Prot., Pref. sec. 5 and 28.

aught the most charitable man can judge) he perished by your approbation; *he ever appealed to his works even to his dying day*, and what was it which made him dote upon them but your licence and approbation!"

Cheynell persecuted Chillingworth with his efforts to convert him to Puritanism upon his very death-bed, till at last, finding all his efforts, as might have been expected, useless, he—

"Desired him that he would now take off his thoughts from all matters of speculation, and fix them upon some practical point which might make for his edification."—"He thanked me," continues Cheynell, "very heartily, and told me that *in all points of religion he was settled, and had fully expressed himself for the satisfaction of others in his book, which was approved and licenced by the very learned and judicious divines.*"

Cheynell adds, in his funeral oration over the body of his illustrious victim (for such we may also designate him),—

"He hath left that phantasie which he called his religion, *upon record in this subtle book.*"

To that immortal work then we confidently appeal, and defy the admirers of Dr. Milner to prove from it, that "Chillingworth last of all gave in to Socinianism," or that "his writings greatly promoted it."

We shall now notice Dr. Milner's introduction to his first citation from Hooker:—

"I shall have occasion," writes the learned doctor, "hereafter to notice the claims of the Established Church to *authority*, in determining the *sense of Scripture*, as well as in other religious controversies: in the mean time, I cannot but observe, that her most able defenders are frequently obliged to *abandon* their *own*, and *adopt the Catholic rule of Faith*. The judicious Hooker, in his defence of the Church of England, writes thus:[a] 'Of this we are right sure, that nature, Scripture, and experience itself have taught the world to seek for the ending of contentions by submitting to some judicial and definite sentence, whereunto neither party that contendeth, may, under any pretence or colour, refuse to stand. This must needs be effectual and strong. As for other means, without this they seldom prevail.'"[b]

It is not improbable that Dr. Milner borrowed this quotation from the Jesuit Knot, who long ago applied it in much the same way. Had the doctor ever read the preface himself, he would have known that Hooker is neither speaking of the *sense of Scripture*, nor of anything appertaining to Christian faith, but merely concerning *ecclesiastical ordinances of themselves indifferent;* and he adds in the very same section of his preface:—

"Not that I judge it a thing allowable for men to observe those laws, which in their hearts they are steadfastly persuaded to be against the law of God. But," continues he, "your persuasion in this case ye are all bound for the time to *suspend*, and in otherwise doing, ye offend against God, by troubling His Church without any just or necessary cause. Be it that there

[a] Hooker's Eccl. Polity, Pref. art. 6.

[b] Letter viii. ad fin.

are some reasons inducing you to think hardly of our laws: are those reasons demonstrative? are they necessary, or mere probabilities only? An argument necessary or demonstrative is such, as being propounded unto any man, and understood, the mind cannot choose but inwardly assent. Any one such reason dischargeth, I grant, the conscience, and setteth it at full liberty. For the public approbation given by the body of the whole church unto those things which are established, doth make it probable but that they are good; and therefore unto a necessary proof that they are not good, it must give place. But if the skilfulest amongst you can show, that all the books ye have hitherto written, be able to afford any one argument of this nature, let the instance be given."[a]

All this is evidently in strict accordance with what he elsewhere teaches; namely, that—

"Although ten thousand general councils would set down one and the same definitive sentence concerning any point of religion whatsoever, yet one demonstrative reason alleged, or one manifest testimony cited from the mouth of God himself to the contrary, could not choose but overweigh them all."

And his reason is this—

"Inasmuch as for them to have been deceived, it is not impossible; it is, that demonstrative reason, or testimony divine should deceive."[b]

In the next place of Hooker referred to by Dr. Milner, that prelate has abused us with the old misconstruction of Knot, Brerely, and others before them. Dr. Milner is the more inexcusable for this, because the work of Chillingworth, which he occasionally quotes, has amply vindicated this very passage, if indeed it can be said to have needed vindication. We will first allege what Dr. Milner advances, and then give the passage of Hooker, illustrated by Chillingworth's exposition:—

DR. MILNER.—"It was not until the end of the fourth century, that the genuine canon of Holy Scripture was fixed; and then it was fixed by the *traditon* and *authority* of *the Church*, declared in the third council of Carthage, and a decretal of Pope Innocent I. Indeed it is so clear, that the *canon of Scripture is built on the tradition of the Church*, that most learned Protestants" here a foot-note refers us to Hooker's Ecc. Pol. B. 3, s. 8., "with Luther himself, have been forced to acknowledge it, in terms almost as strong as those in the well-known declaration of St. Augustine."[c]

HOOKER.—"Scripture teacheth us that saving truth which God hath discovered unto the world by revelation, and it presumeth us taught otherwise, that itself is divine and sacred. The question then being, by what means we are taught this; some answer, that to learn it we have no other way than tradition."

CHILLINGWORTH.—"Some answer so, but he doth not."

HOOKER.—"As namely, that so we believe, because we from our predecessors, and they from theirs have so received. But is this enough? that which all men's experience teacheth them, may not in any wise be denied; and by experience we all know, that the first outward motive leading men to esteem of the Scripture, is the authority of God's Church."

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[a] Hooker's Eccl. Polity, Pref. art. 6. [b] Ibid. lib. ii. sec. 7.
[c] Letter ix. p. 114; and see *antè* p. 87.

CHILLINGWORTH.—"The first outward motive, not the last assurance whereon we rest."

HOOKER.—"For when we know the whole Church of God hath that opinion of the Scripture, we judge it at the first an impudent thing for any man, bred and brought up in the Church, to be of a contrary mind without cause."

CHILLINGWORTH.—"The whole Church that he speaks of, seems to be that particular Church wherein a man is bred and brought up, and the authority of this he makes an argument, which presseth a man's modesty more than his reason. And in saying, it seems impudent to be of a contrary mind without cause, he implies, there may be a just cause to be of a contrary mind, and that then it were no impudence to be so."

HOOKER.—"Afterwards, the more we bestow our labour upon reading or hearing the mysteries thereof, the more we find that the thing itself doth answer our received opinion concerning it."

CHILLINGWORTH.—"Therefore the authority of the Church is not the pause whereon we rest; we had need of more assurance, and the intrinsical arguments afford it."

HOOKER.—"So that the former inducement prevailing somewhat with us before, doth now much more prevail, when the very thing hath ministered farther reason."

CHILLINGWORTH.—"Somewhat, but not much, until it be backed and enforced by farther reason; itself, therefore, is not the farthest reason, and last resolution."

HOOKER.—"If infidels or atheists chance at any time to call it in question, this giveth us occasion to sift what reason there is whereby the testimony of the Church, concerning Scripture, and our own persuasion, which Scripture itself hath settled, may be proved a truth infallible."

CHILLINGWORTH.—"Observe, I pray, our persuasion, and the testimony of the Church concerning Scripture, may be proved true; therefore neither of them was, in his account, the farthest proof."

HOOKER.—"In which case the ancient Fathers, being often constrained to show what warrant they had so much to rely upon the Scriptures, endeavoured still to maintain the authority of the books of God, by arguments, such as the unbelievers themselves must needs think reasonable, if they judge thereof as they should.—Neither is it a thing impossible or greatly hard, even by such kind of proofs, so to manifest and clear that point, that no man living shall be able so deny it, without denying some apparent principle, such as all men acknowledge to be true."

CHILLINGWORTH.—"Natural reason then, built on principles common to all men, is the last resolution, unto which the Church's authority is but the first inducement."[a]

We shall now direct the attention of our readers to a groundless imputation against Chillingworth, elicited by his reasoning upon the obscurities of Holy Writ.

"You may indeed answer," says Dr. Milner, "with Chillingworth and Bishop Porteus, that whatever obscurities there may be in certain parts of Scripture, it is clear in all that is necessary to be known. But on what authority do these writers ground this maxim? They have *none at all;* but they *beg the question*, as logicians express it, to extricate themselves from an absurdity, and in so doing they overturn their fundamental Rule. They profess to gather their articles of faith and morals from mere Scripture; nevertheless, confessing that they understand only a part of it, they presume to make a distinction in it, and to say, *this part is necessary to be known, the other part is not necessary.*"[b]

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[a] Hooker's Eccl. Polity, lib. iii. sec. 8; and Chillingworth, cap. 2, sec. 30, and note.

[b] Letter ix. p. 120.

Whether Chillingworth has really begged the question, or Dr. Milner unjustly imputed this to him, we will leave to be collected from the reasoning pursued by the former.

"I say," argues he, maintaining the perspicuity of Scripture—

"I say sufficiently perfect, and sufficiently intelligible, in things necessary, to all that have understanding, whether they be learned or unlearned. And my *reason* hereof is convincing and *demonstrative*, because nothing is necessary to be believed, but what is plainly revealed. For to say that when a place of Scripture, by reason of ambiguous terms lies indifferent between divers senses, whereof one is true, and the other is false, that God obliges men under pain of damnation, not to mistake through error and human frailty, is to make God a tyrant; and to say that He requires us certainly to attain that end, for the attaining whereof we have no certain means; which is to say, that, like Pharaoh, He gives no straw, and requires brick; that He reaps where He sows not; that He gathers where He strews not; that He will not be pleased with our utmost endeavours to please Him, without full, exact, and never-failing performance; that His will is, we should do what He knows we cannot do; that He will not accept of us according to that which we have, but requireth of us what we have not. Which, whether it can consist with His goodness, with His wisdom, and with His word, I leave it to honest men to judge."[a]

He says, moreover, in another place,—

"If you say, that *the obscure places of Scripture contain matters of faith;* I answer, that it is a matter of faith to believe that the sense of them, whatsoever it is, which was intended by God, is true; for he that doth not so, calls God's truth in question. But to believe this or that to be the true sense of them, or to believe the true sense of them and to avoid the false, is not necessary either to faith or salvation. For if God would have had His meaning in these places certainly known, how could it stand with His wisdom, to be so wanting to His own will and end, as to speak obscurely? Or how can it consist with His justice to require of men to know certainly the meaning of those words which He Himself hath not revealed."[b]

In another part of his work, Dr. Milner discovers (and perhaps he is indebted for the discovery to Cheynell), that

"Chillingworth, in his 'Religion of Protestants,' cap. iii., expressly teaches, that 'the books of Scripture are not the *objects* of our faith,' and that 'a man may be saved, who should not believe them to be the Word of God.'"[c]

Now these words, taken by themselves without rational qualification, have a sound of disparaging the Holy Scriptures. But let them be taken in connection with the context, and they say no more than Dr. Milner himself would probably have said:—

"If a man should believe Christian religion wholly and entirely," argues Chillingworth, "and live according to it, such a man, though he should not know, or not believe the Scripture to be a rule of faith, no, nor to be the Word of God, my opinion is, he may be saved; and my reason is, because he performs the entire condition of the new covenant, which is, that we believe

[a] Chillingworth, cap. 2, sec. 104. [b] Ibid. cap. 2, sec. 127.
[c] Letter xi. p. 154, in a note.

the matter of the Gospel, and not that it is contained in those or these books. So that the books of Scripture are not so much the *objects* of our faith, as the *instruments* of conveying it to our understanding; and not so much of the being of the Christian doctrine, as requisite to the well-being of it."

He, however, adds—

"Not but that it were now very strange and unreasonable, if a man should believe the *matter* of these books, and not the *authority* of the books; and, therefore, if a man should profess the not-believing of this, I should have reason to fear he did not believe that. But there is not always an equal necessity for the belief of those things, for the belief whereof there is an equal reason."[a]

Consonant to this is the short but magnificent 13th section of the first book of Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity. There our great divine does not deny that it is "a matter *merely accidental* unto the Law of God to be written."

He confesses that "writing" is

"Not that which addeth authority and strength thereunto."

That

"His laws do require at our hands the same obedience howsoever they be delivered."

But he adds,—

"His providence notwithstanding, which hath made principal choice of this way to deliver them, who seeth not what cause we have to admire and magnify!"

The truth is, we reject not the peculiar doctrine of Rome simply because it is not in Scripture, but because it is neither in Scripture, nor can be otherwise proved to be the Word of God. We refuse it, not because it is *tradition*, but because we have reason to fear that it is *not tradition*. Were it once proved to be *res tradita non inventa*, we should embrace it as heartily as the Scripture itself.

Hitherto we have seen Dr. Milner contenting himself with the petty artifice of abstracting partial sentences from the authors with whom we have confronted him, no doubt with a view to lessen the deserved esteem in which these writers are held, by forcing them to *seem* to say that which they never intended, and which contradicts the obvious tendency of their works. This indeed is bad enough, but it had been happy for the posthumous fame of the learned prelate, if he had abstained from bolder and baser deceptions. How his devoted admirers will extenuate even this, we know not. Far less can we conceive what garment they will contrive broad enough to hide the deformity of that which follows; unless, indeed, they will say, that a reader who can take the assertions of a controversialist of their Church upon trust deserves to reap the fruits of such egregious folly. Such a one only

[a] Chillingworth, Rel. of Prot. cap. 2, sec. 159.

could ever be deceived by them, and to such a one might their author have said, with honest Davus in the play,

"Certe, hercle, nunc hic se ipsus fallit, haud ego."—TERENCE.

Dr. Milner is writing upon the "Real Presence," which he considers as synonymous with the "Corporal Presence," although the doctrines are in reality very distinct. He brings many examples of "eminent bishops and divines of the Establishment in this country," who firmly believed in the "Real Presence." The last of these is Hooker; from whose immortal work he garbles a passage, as follows:—

"Lastly, the profound Hooker expresses himself thus: 'I wish men would give themselves more to meditate with silence on what we have *in* the Sacrament, and less to dispute of the manner *how*. Since we all agree that Christ, by the Sacrament, doth really and truly perform in us his promise, why do we vainly trouble ourselves with so fierce contentions, whether by consubstantiation, or else by transubstantiation?'—(Eccles. Pol., B. v. 67.)"[a]

The place, as quoted by Dr. Milner, seems to describe the manner of Christ's presence in the Sacrament, to be either by consubstantiation, or else by transubstantiation; and contains an exhortation to peace, upon the ground that this doctrine of his actual presence being received, the mode of it is but of minor importance.

First, Dr. Milner *begins* his citation in the middle of a sentence; secondly, he delivers that as spoken *affirmatively*, which his author delivers *interrogatively*; thirdly, he helps the dice by substituting "*in*," for "*by*;" fourthly, he *omits one whole folio page, and about a third of another*, which occurs between the "*how*" which terminates the first, and the "since," which begins the second sentence of his quotation; and he does this without an ellipsis, or the slightest intimation of this grand omission, although the matter which he has overlooked contains some very pregnant and convincing arguments against the doctrine which his citation is brought to support; fifthly, he again corrupts the sense, by *beginning* his second sentence with a word, which falls in the *course* of that of his author; sixthly, he perverts his author's meaning, by *closing* his quotation with a *period*, where his author makes *no stop*, and before his sense has been fully developed.

Hooker's doctrine was briefly this:—that Christ, *by* the Sacrament, imparts Himself, as a mystical head, to every member of His mystical body, the Church; and that the consecrated elements instrumentally communicate to worthy receivers the grace of that body and blood which were given

[a] Letter xxxvii. p. 367, note.

for the life of the world. But that a literal, corporal manducation of the very substance of His flesh and blood is necessary in order to this, he disproves and utterly denies.

As it would occupy too much space to give all that is contained between the first and second sentences of the learned prelate's quotation, we must refer our readers to the original for their entire satisfaction. However we will restore the true reading of the passages, and adduce so much of the intervening matter as may suffice to vindicate Hooker's doctrine:—

"All things considered," says our judicious divine, in allusion to what had gone before, "and compared with that success, which *truth* hath hitherto had by so bitter conflicts with *errors* in this point, shall I wish that men would more give themselves to meditate with silence, what we have *by* the Sacrament, and less to dispute of the manner *how?*"

Nevertheless Hooker undoubtedly never meant to deny the utility of rational inquiry into this, more than in other religious matters, otherwise he would not have gone on in the prosecution of it, as he immediately did. It remains then that we discover what he considered that *truth* to be, which he describes as having had hitherto so little success. In exposition of the words, "Take, eat, this is my body," &c., he says (a considerable way farther on, but still between the sentences of Dr. Milner's quotation):—

"If we doubt what those admirable words may import, let him be our teacher, to whom Christ was Himself a schoolmaster; let our Lord's Apostle be His interpreter, content we ourselves with his explication: My body, *the communion of my body;* My blood, *the communion of my blood.* Is there any thing more expedite, clear, and easy, than that as Christ is termed our life, because through Him we obtain life; so the parts of this Sacrament are called His body and blood, for that they are so to us; who receiving them, receive that *by* them which they are termed? The bread and cup are His body and blood, because they are causes instrumental upon the receipt whereof the participation of his body and blood ensueth. For that which produceth any certain effect, is not vainly nor improperly said to be that very effect whereunto it tendeth."

And again:—

"The real presence of Christ's most blessed body and blood is not therefore to be sought for *in the Sacrament*, but in the worthy receiver of the Sacrament. And with this the very order of our Saviour's words agreeth; first, 'Take and eat;' then, 'This is my body which was broken for you;' first, 'Drink ye all of this;' then followeth, 'This is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many, for the remission of sins.' I see not which way it should be gathered by the words of Christ, when and where the bread is His body, or the cup His blood, but only in the very *heart* and *soul* of him which receiveth them. As for the Sacraments, they really *exhibit*, but, for ought we can gather out of that which is written of them, *they are not really, nor do really contain in themselves, that grace which with them, or by them, it pleaseth God to bestow.* If on all sides be confessed, that the grace of baptism is poured into the soul of man; that by water we receive it, although it be neither seated in

the water, nor the water changed into it; what should induce men to think that the grace of the Eucharist must needs be *in* the Eucharist, before it can be in us that receive it? The fruit of the Eucharist is the participation of the body and blood of Christ. There is no sentence of Holy Scripture which saith, that we cannot by this Sacrament be made partakers of his body and blood, except they be first contained in the Sacrament, or the Sacrament converted into them. 'This is my body,' and 'This my blood,' being words of promise, *sith we all agree, that by the Sacrament, Christ doth really and truly in us perform his promise; why do we vainly trouble ourselves with so fierce contentions, whether by consubstantiation, or else by transubstantiation the Sacrament itself be first possessed with Christ or no?*"[a]

Upon a case so clear, we will not insult our readers with note or comment.

We will now advert to confession; where we shall find Dr. Milner, *ut semper*, misrepresenting the admirable Chillingworth.

"Let the persons alluded to" (viz. who are deterred from embracing the Roman Catholic faith, from a dread of Sacramental confession)—

"Let the persons alluded to," says the learned prelate, "humbly and fervently pray," &c.—"and let them be persuaded of the truth of what an unexceptionable witness (Chillingworth) says, *who had experienced, while he was a Catholic, the interior joy he describes; where, persuading the penitent to go to his confessor,* 'not as one that can speak comfortable and quieting words to him, but as to one that hath authority delegated to him from God himself, to absolve and acquit him of his sins,' he goes on: 'If you shall do this, assure your souls, that the understanding of man is not able to conceive that transport and excess of joy and comfort, which shall accrue to that man's heart who is persuaded he hath been made partaker of this blessing.'—(Chillingworth, Serm. vii.)"[b]

Here Milner applies to one sort of confession what Chillingworth says of another. That whereof the former speaks is the *sacramental* confession of Rome; this to which the latter alludes is the *reformed* confession of England. For, first, Chillingworth quotes the following passage from Bishop Usher's answer to the Jesuit:—

"'Be it known to our adversaries of Rome (I add also to our adversaries of Great Britain, who sell their private fancies for the doctrine of our Church), that no kind of confession, either public or private, is disallowed by our Church, that is any way requisite for the due execution of that ancient *power of the Keys*, which Christ bestowed upon his Church. The thing which we reject, is that new picklock of *sacramental confession* obtruded upon men's consciences, as a matter necessary to salvation, by the canons of the late conventicle of Trent, in the 14th session.'"

Secondly; he calls the "Sacramental, necessary, universal confession" of the Church of Rome, "an *intolerable burden;*" and, lastly, he thus prefaces the passage cited by the learned prelate:—

"Therefore, in obedience to his gracious will, and as I am *warranted*, and even *enjoined, by my holy mother the Church of England expressly*, in the Book of

[a] Hooker, Eccl. Pol. lib. v. sec. 67, § 5. [b] Letter xli. ad fin. p. 401.

Common Prayer, in the Rubrick of visiting the sick (which doctrine this Church hath likewise embraced so far), I beseech you, that by your practice and use you will not suffer that commission which Christ hath given to his ministers, to be a vain form of words, without any sense under them, not to be an antiquated expired commission, of no use nor validity in these days: But whensoever you find yourselves charged and oppressed, especially with such crimes as they call *peccata vastantia conscientiam*, such as do lay waste and depopulate the conscience, that you would have recourse to your spiritual physician, and freely disclose the nature and malignancy of your disease, that he may be able, as the cause shall require, either to search it with corrosives, or comfort and temper it with oil. And come not to him, only with such a mind as you would go to a learned man experienced in the Scriptures, as one that can speak comfortable quieting words," &c.[a]

The bold deceit which we have been detecting in Dr. Milner's celebrated work, may be traced to its very last page. There we read, that

"The most eminent Protestant divines"—

amongst whom he enumerates Hooker and Chillingworth—

"All acknowledge that *salvation may be found in the original Catholic Church*" (he means of Rome); "but" that "no divine of this Church, consistently with her characteristical unity and the constant doctrine of the holy Fathers and of the Scripture itself, can allow that salvation is to be found out of this communion, *except in the case of invincible ignorance*."[b]

This is the common bugbear wherewith Roman Catholic writers strive to terrify those whom they fail to convince. But for Dr. Milner, if he had hopes of salvation for those amongst us who err through "invincible ignorance," our chance for heaven was as good in his estimation, as was that of Roman Catholics in the estimation of Hooker and Chillingworth: for it is a calumny to say that those writers thought Popish heresies to be pardonable without that plea. Hooker, indeed, charitably held, that "God was merciful to save thousands of our fathers, living in Popish superstitions;" but mark the sequel—"*inasmuch as they sinned ignorantly!*" "Their *ignorance* did make me *hope* they did *find mercy*, and so were saved!" Again: "If I be deceived in this point," says he, "not they, but the blessed Apostle hath deceived me. What I said of others, the same he said of himself: 'I obtained mercy, for I did it *ignorantly*.' Construe his words, and you cannot misconstrue mine. I speak no otherwise, I mean no otherwise, than he did." He, however, adds,—

"I must needs say that their case is fearful, their estate dangerous, which harden themselves, presuming on the mercy of God towards others. It is true, that God is merciful, but let us beware of presumptuous sins. God delivered Jonah from the bottom of the sea; will you therefore cast yourselves headlong from the tops of rocks, and say in your hearts, God shall deliver us?

[a] Chillingworth, Serm. vii. secs. 10, 12, 14. [b] Letter l. p. 493.

He pitieth the blind that would gladly see; but will He pity him that may see, and hardeneth himself in blindness? *No; Christ hath spoken too much unto you to claim the privilege of your fathers!*"[a]

As for Chillingworth, it is plain that he had hopes for those Roman Catholics, *qui sequuntur Absolonem in simplicitate cordis*,—that they may be saved, "*yet, so as by fire.*"[b] "We hope," says he "(and *spes est rei incertæ nomen*), that *some* of you may *possibly* be saved, by occasion of their *unaffected ignorance.*"[c] But his hopes were scarcely equal to his fears.

"It were a thing much to be desired," he admits, "that there were no divisions; yet difference of opinions touching points controverted, is rather to be chosen than *unanimous concord in damned errors*. As it is better for men to go to heaven by divers ways, or rather by divers paths of the same way, than in the same path to go on *peaceably to hell. Amica pax, magis amica veritas!*"[d]

Such is the candid treatment which two of the most eminent divines that this country could ever boast, have received at the hands of the ingenuous Dr. Milner,—a prelate who (it is recorded by his *own* pen) would have "despised himself if he had *knowingly* published any falsehood, or hesitated to *retract* any one that he was proved to have fallen into."[e] One who could exclaim in the language of antiquity[f]—

"Heu prisca fides!—Heu, candida veritas!"

One who dare accuse even a Jewel of "deliberate impugning of the known truth," of "hypocrisy," and of shameful falsification of the Fathers;"[g] and a Barrow of "chicanery," and "shameful misrepresentation."[h] Yet could Dr. Milner, without attempting the slightest proof, brand an illustrious Christian with the odious mark of Socinianism, who had from the pulpit designated the Socinians "heretics," and pronounced their doctrine "blasphemous."[i] And of whom his most determined theological opponent had borne unimpeachable testimony, that "he ever appealed to his works even to his dying day"—he appealed to that work in which he had professed the doctrines of the Church of England "against the Socinian and all others whatsoever"—to that invaluable work which had been "approved and licensed by very learned and judicious divines."[k]

Shall we be told that we have been profaning the sacred

[a] Hooker's Serm. on Justification, secs. 36, 38.
[b] Chillingworth, Rel. of Prot. cap. 2, sec. 158.
[c] Ibid. cap. 5. sec. 76.
[d] Ibid. cap. 5, sec. 72.
[e] In address, note, p. 30.
[f] Ibid. postscript.
[g] Letter xxvi. ad fin. p. 274.
[h] Letter xlvi. in a note, p. 436.
[i] Chillingworth, Serm. v. sec. 29.
[k] Vide places above quoted.

dead? Not, we hope, by the followers of a Milner. Of him we have said only the truth. We have not aspersed his fame, nor tainted his memory with the breath of calumny. Would he had done equal justice to the names of the great men who preceded him to the grave. Neither the wisdom of Hooker—the reason of Chillingworth—the acuteness of Barrow—nor the learning of Jewel could protect them from the touch of this moth. The insect at last is fled; the filth it has left behind it must be brushed away.[a]

No. XIV.

PERSECUTIONS.

Sec. I.—Introductory Remarks.

The grand desire of the Church of Rome is, and ever has been, to obtain accession to her numbers, and thus acquire—whatever the ostensible object put forward may be—temporal dominion and wealth. Persecution grows out of, and almost naturally accompanies the system. Having attained in a country her darling desire, supremacy, she has dared almost anything in the determination, when endangered, to retain that position. *Rule I will,* is her motto; and the readers of this volume will learn, if not already acquainted with the fact, something as to the means to which she is prepared to have recourse in carrying that point; never hesitating to smear her escutcheon even with blood, in making good her claim to that motto, in such kingdoms of Europe as furnished a sufficient body of ruffianism, to be moulded, or in any way moved, for her defence.

Still with all this ferocity of determination (the securing of numbers being one of her main objects), the hideous aspect of her shield having been found, in a predominantly Protestant country, to present a sad obstacle to the working out of her schemes for making "progress;" she has taken the utmost pains, notwithstanding this settled determination, to wash out, or in any way to paint over, the "damned spot." That Church has accordingly made or adopted rules, which she finds very convenient for occasional use in gaining credit at

[a] The Protestant Journal, Nov. 1831, pp. 683—694.

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one time, or sheltering herself from disgrace at another, when she would not appear *exactly* in the character of a

"Milk-white hind."

On the subject of Persecution for Religion, Dr. Milner in Letter xlix. sets out with stating: that, so far from the Church of Rome being a persecuting Church, as the Reformed have been wont fondly to imagine, she actually determines, that her clergy shall have no hand in the putting heretics to death, that their authority goes no further than the pronouncing those persons to *be* heretics, and that, when they have so pronounced them, they shall even pray for their pardon from the secular powers of the State.

Was there ever a more shameless mixture of sophistry and effrontery?

The assertion is, that *the Church of Rome is* NOT *a persecuting Church:* and the proof of the assertion consists in the statement, that *the clergy are forbidden to embrue their hands in the blood of heretics.*

According to the necessary tenor of this proof, the laity, it seems, are not to be deemed *any* portion of the Roman Church.

Protestants, on the ground of historical testimony, charge the *Roman Church* with the guilt of murderous persecution.

Dr. Milner replies, that the charge must needs be false, because the *Romish clergy* are forbidden to put heretics to death.

Now, most plainly, this is no answer to the charge, unless the Romish priesthood are prepared to deny that the Romish laity form any part of the Romish Church. The charge was brought against the Romish Church *collectively*, not against the Romish clergy *exclusively*. To say, therefore, that the *Romish clergy* only *pronounce* persons to be heretics, while the laity undertake the executioner's office of *burning* them; and on *that* ground to frame a proof that the *Romish Church* is NOT a persecuting Church, amounts to a gross paralogism, unworthy of a very tyro in logic, UNLESS the Romish clergy *exclusively* form the Romish Church.

It might seem as if Dr. Milner had not observed the inevitable *consequence* of the singular defence which he has set up. The charge was: that *the Romish Church is a persecuting Church.* This charge he thinks it necessary to *repel.*

Now, unless the charge involved an accusation of what *he himself* admitted to be most disgraceful and most unchristian, any defence, on *his* part, which altogether rested on an indig-

nant denial of the truth of the accusation, would have been absurdly superfluous.

Thus the very defence, which he has set up for the Romish clergy, condemns, *vi consequentiæ*, the practice of the Romish laity.

So much for Dr. Milner's Sophistry: and it is well matched by his unblushing effrontery.

The Romish laity are guilty of murderous persecution. But who are their teachers and instigators?

Dr. Milner would actually have us believe, that the Romish clergy (for to *them* his argument confines the Romish Church) stand clear of persecution, simply because, with their own personal hands, they do not grossly play the butcher, and simply because they hypocritically beseech their miserable laic tools to be merciful and to spare the pronounced heretical delinquents.

Thus, in despite of the maxim, *Qui facit per alium, facit per se*, we are to account the *presiding* demons of the Inquisition quite exempt from any *just* charge of persecution and quite innocent of that incautiously *admitted* wickedness, because they *only* turned over their victims to be tortured and burned by their *laic* instruments; and thus we are liberally to reckon the *Romish priesthood* quite clear of guilt, because they go through the farce of beseeching the *lay power* to be merciful: when, all the while, Dr. Milner knew full well, that a single inhibition of the Pope and his clergy, a single declaration that every layman who put a heretic to death perpetrated a grievous sin, and should be excommunicated accordingly; would *enforce* and *secure* the mercy, which, with loathsome grimace, these sacerdotal mummers affected to *pray* for.

To put forth, by way of rebutting a just charge of murderous persecution against the whole Romish Church, a simulated *prayer* for mercy, when not an effort was made to *enforce* that prayer, nay, when the *granting* of the prayed-for mercy would have been itself deemed a proof of heretical predilection on the part of the layman who granted it, as we may see from the persecuting Canon of the Fourth Lateran Council, recognized and established by subsequent Councils and Synods down to the Council of Trent—to put forth *such* a prayer by way of *exculpation*, when the *laudatory* name of an *act of faith*, bestowed upon a wholesale butchery of the Inquisition, distinctly showed that no *exculpation* was really thought necessary, save to gull some heedless Protestant dupe—to argue thus is a specimen of shameless effrontery, which none but a double-dipped Romish priest could have ventured to exhibit.

This very obvious retort, Dr. Milner endeavours to meet by anticipation.

"Whereas," says he, "many heresies are subversive of the established governments, the public peace, and natural morality, it does not belong to the Church to *prevent* princes and states from exercising their just authority in repressing and punishing them, when this is judged to be the case: nor would any clergyman incur irregularity by exhorting princes and magistrates to provide for those important objects and the safety of the Church itself, by repressing its disturbers, provided he did not concur to the death or mutilation of any particular disturber. Thus it appears, that though there have been persecuting laws in many [Roman] Catholic States, the Church itself, so far from claiming, actually disclaims, the power of persecuting." (Letter xlix. p. 466.)

Here again shines forth the sophist, though certainly the quite *transparent* sophist.

Who ever denied, that persons, in *faith* heretics, may be punished, when, in *practice*, they are guilty of treason and conspiracy? But who can so grievously lack either common sense or common honesty, as not to perceive that individuals so punished are punished for their *treason*, not for their *heresy?*

On this principle it was, that our own glorious Elizabeth justly punished the Popish traitors, who, under the lawless influence of the Church of Rome, were plotting against her life and her crown. But they were punished as *traitors*, with the death of traitors, not as *heretics*, with what the Romanists deem the appropriate death of heretics. The question before us respects heretics *quoad* heretics, not heretics *quoad* traitors: and it will still be asked, notwithstanding Dr. Milner's wish to elude such an unpleasant interrogation: "Why did not the Pope and his clergy interfere to prevent the laity from putting to a cruel death, as heretics, men who had never been implicated in the guilt of high treason?"*

If the Church of Rome deems the murder of heretics *a crime*, in which her clergy are forbidden to participate, how shall we estimate the guilt of those very clergy, who, *believing* the slaughter of heretics to be criminal, yet never interfered to *prevent* her laity from perpetrating an acknowledged crime?

If she *approve* of the bloody deed in her laity, though she hypocritically forbids its actual perpetration by her clergy, what becomes of Dr. Milner's pretended exculpation?

* We shall, in another Article, prove that the priests, and not the laity, are in fact responsible for the persecution of alleged heretics.

The burning of heretics she must inevitably esteem either *a heinous crime*, or *no crime at all.*

If the *former*, she wickedly, in direct opposition to the word of the Lord by the prophet Ezekiel, allows her laity to perpetrate crime without any attempt to prevent it by her solemn protest and warning (Ezek. iii. 17, 18, 20).

If the *latter*, she stands self-convicted of that very persecution, from which Dr. Milner would disingenuously exculpate her.

But, in truth (to carry on an argument which we have already employed), the exculpation, attempted by Dr. Milner, is, under the precise aspect of an *exculpation*, nothing less than a virtual acknowledgment, that *the putting individuals to death, whether by priesthood or laity, on the score of heresy, is a grievous sin.*

For, if it be *not* a sin and a scandal, why should Dr. Milner wish to prove that his Church is *not* a persecuting Church? Why should he wish to exhibit his clergy, as inculcating mercy, rather than as inflicting punishment?

His very attempt shows, either his real consciousness that persecution *is* a sin, or his desire to impose upon unwary Protestants by exhibiting his Church under an aspect which does not belong to her.

Meanwhile, whatever may have been the inward working of his mind, his outward allegations are strangely at variance, both with the *recorded practice*, of his Church, and likewise with her *avowed sentiments.*

In *practice*, we need only look to the FACTS, of the Inquisition, of the wholesale barbarities of Alva in the Netherlands, of the relentless and enduring persecution of the blameless Albigenses and Valdenses, of the reign of the well-known Mary of England, of the massacre of St. Bartholomew approved of and exulted over by the Pope and his clergy, of the parallel massacre of the year 1641 in Ireland, and even of the persecution still carried on in the present day against the Reformed of that unhappy country, and against all such as dare conscientiously to repudiate the deadly superstition of Rome.

With *practice* exactly tallies *precept*. Dr. Milner vainly attempts to get over the third Canon of the fourth Council of Lateran.[a] Like a millstone, it hangs, and ever will hang, about the neck of his apostate and blood-stained Church. How it has ever been understood, is quite clear from the notes to the Rhemish Testament: and the stealthy suppres-

[a] The proofs of the authenticity of this decree will form the subject of a separate Article.

sion of those particular notes in some copies of the modern edition of Macnamara serves only to show a deep consciousness of what the Romish Church really is. In these notes, which form an admirable comment upon the Lateran Canon, bishops are warned to be zealous and stout against false prophets and heretics, of what sort soever, after the *example* of holy Elias, that in zeal *killed* four hundred and fifty false prophets of Jezabel: Protestants are censured, for foolishly expounding of Rome the Apocalyptic Harlot, because Romanists *put heretics to death* and *allow* of their punishment in other countries; whereas no commonwealth shall answer for *shedding the blood of heretics*, any more than for shedding the blood of thieves, men-killers, and other malefactors: the good (meaning, of course, the Papists) are authorized to tolerate the evil when it is so strong that it cannot be redressed without danger and disturbance of the whole Church; otherwise, where ill men (be they *heretics* or other malefactors) may be punished or suppressed without disturbance and hazard of the good, they may and *ought*, by public authority, either *spiritual* or temporal, to be chastised or *executed*: and, to crown all, by a daring and impious perversion of our Blessed Lord's own decision, the wretched dupes of Popery are assured, that neither the *Church* nor Christian princes are blamed *for putting heretics to death*.[a]

[a] Of these awful notes the following may serve as specimens:—

"A heretic may be excommunicated, and so made as an heathen or a publican was to the Jews, by the discipline of the Church, casting him out of the fellowship of Catholics: which excommunication is a greater punishment than if he were executed by sword, fire, and wild beasts." (Note on Matt. xviii. 17.)

"St. Augustine also referreth this compelling to the penal laws which Catholic princes do justly use against heretics and schismatics, proving that they who are by their former profession in baptism subject to the Catholic Church, and are departed from the same afterwards, may and ought to be compelled into the unity and society of the universal Church again." (Note on Luke xiv. 23.)

"Not justice nor all rigorous punishment of sinners is here forbidden, nor the Church or Christian princes blamed for putting heretics to death; but that none of these should be done for desire of our particular revenge, or without discretion, and regard of their amendment, and example to others." (Note on Luke ix. 55.)

"The Protestants foolishly expound it of Rome, for that there they put heretics to death, and allow their punishment in other countries; but their blood is not called the blood of saints, no more than the blood of thieves, man-killers, and other malefactors, for the shedding of which, by order of justice, no commonwealth shall answer." (Note on Rev. xvii. 6.)

"You may see hereby, that the spiritual power of bishops—hath authority to punish, judge, and condemn heretics and other like rebels." (Note on 2 Cor. x. 6.)

"Where ill men (be they heretics or other malefactors) may be punished or suppressed without disturbance and hazard of the good, they may and ought,

In the face both of *fact* and of *precept*, Dr. Milner seems to have imagined, that he could readily persuade those men of straw, his friends at New Cottage, that his Church was specially remarkable for its great meekness and its exemplary hatred of persecution! Nay, truly, in absolute contradiction to his exculpation of the clergy, or the Church (for so he seems exclusively to denominate the clergy), and to his intimation that any persecution on the part of the laity was their own unauthorized act and deed, the notes before us vindicate the *putting heretics to death* whether by the *Church* or by Christian princes, and roundly declare that heretics *ought* to be chastised or *executed* by public authority either *spiritual* or temporal.

Thus it appears, says Dr. Milner, in the very fulness of logical self-satisfaction: *thus it appears, that though there have been persecuting laws in many* (Roman) *Catholic states, the Church itself, so far from claiming, actually disclaims, the power of persecuting!*

He would, however, in the way of a retort courteous, throw back upon Protestants themselves the charge of blood-stained persecution: just as if the guilt of one party could whitewash the guilt of another party.

We confess with grief, that Protestants have not been altogether exempt from this murderous abomination: but, to say nothing of the mitigating abatement, that, where Protestantism has burned her units, Popery has burned her myriads, we venture to account for the reprobated fact on principles which are anything rather than flattering to the Church of Rome.

The progress of reform was gradual: nor was the whole evil of Popery either perceived or rejected instantaneously. They who had been trained in a school of persecution did not immediately unlearn its diabolical lessons; and, for a season, they unhappily bore upon them the ancient brand of the sanguinary harlot out of whose polluted communion they had obediently withdrawn themselves. It has often been said, that the Christian principle of toleration was not then understood: an assertion, which, if it means anything definite, means only, that the theological world did not instantaneously forget the instructions of the pretended mother and mistress of all churches.

by public authority, either spiritual or temporal, to be chastised or executed." (Note on Matt. xiii. 29, 30.)

For a full history of this edition of the Rhemish Testament, see "The Complete Notes to the Douay Bible and Rhemish Testament; with a Preface, embodying the Facts and Documents connected with the publication of both editions," &c. &c. By the Rev. R. J. M'Ghee. Dublin, 1837.

But how stands the matter in the present day?

Protestants universally reprobate the judicial murder of either real heretics or alleged heretics: but Papists have never renounced the black badge of their community.

The *authentic* third Canon of the fourth Lateran still stands unrepealed.[a] Nay, even in the midst of his sophistical attempt at denial and exculpation, it is vindicated and defended by Dr. Milner: and, in the authorized notes of the Rhemish Testament, we are still taught, that persecution is a duty, and that, when it is not actually carried into practice, the defect springs, not from want of will, but from want of power.[b]

SEC. II.—Is the Church of Rome responsible for Persecutions of Heretics?

One of the questions which were reserved for further consideration, is that which stands at the head of the present article.

In letter xlix. Dr. Milner labours hard to prove that the Church of Rome is not responsible for the persecution of heretics, and that she does not take upon herself or even sanction "religious persecutions." He expressly denies that she "*maintains a claim* of punishing heretics with penalties, imprisonment, tortures, and death;" but, on the contrary, "she *disclaims the power* of so doing" (the italics are his own). In support of this assertion he quotes a passage from an epistle attributed to Pope "Leo the Great," Bishop of Rome between the years 440 and 461; when "writing about the Manichean heretics,—who, as he asserted, laid all modesty aside, prohibiting the matrimonial connection, and subverting all law human and divine,—says, that the ecclesiastical lenity was content even in this case, with the sacerdotal judgment, and avoided all sanguinary punishments. However," continues Dr. Milner, "the secular emperors might inflict them for reasons of state" (p. 465). Among other *ancient* writers he quotes Tertullian as saying that "It does not belong to religion to force religion." He then declares, that the "Canon Law [of the Church of Rome] as it stood in ancient times, and as it still stands, renders all those who have actively concurred in the death or mutilation of any human being, whether Catholic or heretic, Jew or Pagan,

[a] The *authenticity* of this famous third Canon, of which some modern Papists, in very shame, would fain get rid, is fully established by the Rev. John Evans, in his "Statutes of the Fourth Council of Lateran." Seeley, Fleet Street.

[b] Faber's "Difficulties of Romanism," in Preface of third edition.

even in a just war, or by exercising the art of surgery, or by judicial proceedings, *irregular;* that is to say, such persons cannot be promoted to Holy Orders, or exercise those orders if they have actually received them. Nay, when an ecclesiastical judge or tribunal has, after due examination, pronounced that any person accused of obstinate heresy is actually guilty of it, he is required by the Church expressly to declare in her name, that her power extends no further than such decision: and, in case the obstinate heretic is liable, by the laws of the State, to suffer death or mutilation, the judge is required to pray for his pardon" (p. 466). For all this *original* matter, Dr. Milner gives no authority, because, in fact, none is producible, though he is not very particular in appending an ambiguous reference when it suits his convenience.

Dr. Milner then proceeds to state that "Whereas many heresies are subversive of the established governments, the public peace, and of national morality, it [nevertheless] does not belong to the Church to *prevent* princes and states from exercising their just authority in repressing and punishing them, when this is judged to be actually the case; nor would any clergyman incur irregularity by exhorting princes and magistrates to provide for those important objects, and the safety of the Church itself, by repressing its disturbers, provided he did not concur to the death or mutilation of any particular disturber. Thus it appears [but Dr. Milner's representation, be it remembered, is unsupported by any authority], that though there have been persecuting laws in many [Roman] Catholic states, the Church itself, so far from *claiming,* actually *disclaims, the power of persecuting*" (p. 466). (The italics are Dr. Milner's.)

It appears, therefore, by the statement of Dr. Milner, that the Roman Church not only does not sanction persecution, but disclaims the power of persecuting; and further, that should a person be condemned of heresy, it can only declare the person to be such, while the judge is dutifully enjoined to pray for his pardon. Since, however, hundreds of thousands have been tortured and put to death for the so-called crime of heresy, in fact, for not thinking and believing as the Church of Rome thinks and believes, the *State* and not the *Church* is guilty, if any guilt attaches to the act.

Dr. Milner, moreover, has an excuse at hand for the *State*. In the same Letter, p. 486, he says: "In the first place, whenever Catholic states and princes have persecuted Protestants, it was always in favour of *an ancient religion*, which had been established in their country, perhaps, a thousand or fifteen hundred years, and had, during that time, preserved

its peace, order, and morality, while they clearly saw, that an attempt to alter this religion would, unavoidably, produce incalculable disorders and sanguinary contests." And, in the second place, "if Catholic states and princes have enforced submission to their Church by persecution, they were fully persuaded that there is *a Divine authority in this Church to decide controversies of religion*, and that those Christians who refuse to hear her voice, when she pronounces upon them, are obstinate heretics."

We will now inquire how far Dr. Milner's assertions can be borne out by historical facts. We will take first the opinion of private doctors of the Church of Rome.

Eckius, the celebrated opponent of Luther, devotes a whole chapter to this subject in his "Enchiridion," and conducts his inquiry in a very systematic and business-like manner. He first proves from Scripture that "obstinate or relapsed heretics are *justly* put to death;" then he notices several objections, on the part of Lutherans, to this doctrine; and lastly, answers the said objections. The following is a specimen of his mode of reasoning on this subject:—"'And the man that will do presumptuously, and will not hearken to the priest (that standeth there to minister before the Lord thy God), or unto the judge, even that man shall die: and thou shalt put away the evil from Israel' (Deut. xvii. 12). The reason for this law is still in force, *that we should take away the evil from the midst of the Church.* 'But the earth which beareth thorns and briars is rejected, and is nigh unto cursing; *whose end is to be burned*' (Heb. v. 8). *An heretic is earth of this sort.*"[a]

Let us now see how he deals with the objections of the Lutherans. "The Lutherans object that the Lord commanded His servants to let the tares grow together with the wheat, and that by *tares* are signified *heretics.*" To this objection Eckius thus replies—"To root out heretics by death is *not* contrary to the command of the Lord (as being limited to) when the tares cannot be extirpated without the extirpation of the wheat; wherefore He (the Lord) adds, 'Lest, perhaps, ye also root up the wheat together with them:' *when there is no fear of that, let not the severity of discipline sleep.*"

Eckius seems to lose no opportunity of enforcing the doctrine that "hæretici obstinati aut relapsi juste per mortem e medio tolluntur," for, in his "Second Homily for St. George the Martyr's Day," he says, "Heretics are wont to inquire

[a] "De Hæreticis comburendis." See "Enchiridion Locorum Communium adversus Lutherum et alios Hostes Ecclesiæ." Coloniæ, 1567.

'why they are burned?' Behold the reason even to the letter, *because they do not remain in the vine.*"[a]

From Eckius we proceed to Alphonsus à Castro, who says: "The last punishment to be considered is that of the body, viz. DEATH—a punishment with which we will prove, by God's assistance, that heretics ought to be visited."—"From which words it is abundantly plain, that it is not a modern invention, but a very old opinion of wise Christians, that heretics should be burned with fire."[b] It will be perceived that à Castro claims antiquity, as sanctioning his view of the teaching of his Church, while Dr. Milner laboured to show that the Church, in early days, abhorred persecution on account of religion.

The next doctor we quote is the canonized "seraphic doctor," Saint Thomas Aquinas. He first argues that heretics are to be tolerated,—and this opinion is founded on 2 Tim. ii. 24, and 1 Cor. xi. 19. On the other hand he argues, from the text Titus iii. 10, that persecutions are justifiable, and having thus weighed the two sides of the argument, founded on Scripture, he then sums up his own opinion as to what the Church does or should teach. He says,—

"Although heretics are not to be tolerated, by reason of their delinquency, they are to be waited for until the second reproof, in order that they may return to the sound faith of the Church; but those who continue obstinate in their error after the second reproof, are not only to be consigned to the sentence of excommunication, but also to the secular princes TO BE EXTERMINATED (*exterminandi*)."—"If falsifiers of money, or other malefactors, are justly consigned to immediate death by secular princes, much more do heretics, immediately after they are convicted of heresy, deserve not only to be excommunicated, but also JUSTLY TO BE KILLED (*sed et juste occidi*)."[c]

To come nearer home, Dens declares it to be the accepted doctrine in the Roman Church that the rites of heretics should not be tolerated;[d] that they ought to be *compelled* by

[a] (Quintæ partis Joannis Eckii in Lutherum et alios. MDXXXVI. fol. 94.) "Tomus tertius Homiliarum de Sanctis." For these quotations from Eckius, we are indebted to the Rev. John Evans's "Letters on the Papal Aggression," letter vii.; and his "Papal Aggression and Concessions to Rome." Painter, London, p. 13, whose text we have followed.

[b] "Ultima se jam offert corporis pœna; mors scilicet, qua hæreticos, nisi tempestive resipiscant, juste puniendos esse apertissime, Deo favente, demonstrabimus."—"Ex quibus verbis apertissime constat non esse recentem inventionem, sed antiquissimam sapientium Christianorum sententiam hæreticos esse igne cremandos."—Alph. à Castro de Hæret. Punitione. Madrid, 1773. Lib. ii. cap. 12, pp. 123, 128. This à Castro was lately quoted from the pulpit of St. George's Cathedral, Southwark, as an example to be followed.

[c] "Secunda secundæ partis Summ. Theolog. S. Tho. Aquinatis." Romæ, 1586, Quæst. xi. Art. iii. p. 93.

[d] "Resp. 2°. Ritus aliorum infidelium, nempe paganorum et hæreticorum, per se non sunt tolerandi: quia ita sunt mali, ut nihil veritatis aut utilitatis in bonum Ecclesiæ inde derivetur."—Dens, Tractatus de Virtutibus. De Ritibus Infid. tolerandis. Tom. ii. pp. 82, 83. Dublin, 1832.

corporeal punishments to adopt the Roman faith,[a] and that if they refuse, they are justly punishable by *death;* and for these opinions he appeals to Thomas Aquinas as an authority, and to the burning of John Huss as a precedent.[b]

To come nearer still to our own times. The following remarkable passages we extract from the Roman Catholic monthly journal, entitled the "Rambler." In the January number of 1854, we read as follows:—

"We have no intention of entering now upon the general question of religious persecution; but this we will say, that those who believe the Old Testament to be the word of God cannot deny that he has sanctioned the crushing of falsehood by material means. To make a great outcry about a Christian having put into practice the same principles which were enjoined by God as rules of action upon Moses, Josue, and Samuel,—which were applauded in David, and which St. Peter was inspired to put into practice, may be good policy in one who wishes simply to protest against Rome, caring little what becomes of Christianity, but is suicidal in the Protestant who wishes at the same time to uphold 'the whole Bible' as the pure and exclusive revelation of God. The Church has persecuted, and on principle—there is no denying the fact;—but the principle is one of policy and prudence, not of dogma, and, in the present state of the world, she rarely acts upon it; not that in itself the principle is indefensible even on modern grounds, for the punishment of a religious offence by *imprisonment* and DEATH is in itself no more incompatible with reason, or with the Christian spirit, than the infliction of the same punishment on the thief and murderer."—p. 2.

Again, in the June number for 1849:—

"For our own selves, we are prepared to maintain that it is no more morally wrong to put a man to death for *heresy* than for *murder!*—that in many cases *persecution* for *religious opinions* is not only permissible, but highly advisable and necessary; and further, that no nation on earth, Catholic or Protestant, ever did, ever does, or ever will, consistently, act upon the idea that such persecution is forbidden by the laws of God or the Gospel (!) . . . . Instances do incessantly occur in which *persecution*, in some form or other, is both wise, merciful, necessary, and Christian."

But it may be said these are but private opinions of doctors of the Church, and are of no authority. We shall then pass on to the Bulls of Popes, and the decrees of Councils, registered in this same body of Canon Law, to which Dr. Milner has the hardihood to refer us.[c]

[a] "Resp. 2° ad quæstionem infideles baptizati, quales esse solent hæretici et apostatæ, item schismatici baptizati cogi possunt, etiam pœnis corporalibus, ut revertantur ad fidem Catholicam et unitatem Ecclesiæ."—Dens, Tract. de Virtutibus. An Infideles sint compellendi ad Fidem? Tom. ii. p. 79. Dublin, 1832.

[b] "An heretici rectè puniuntur morte? Respondet S. Thomas, 2. 2, quæst. xi. art. 3, in corp. affirmativè: quia falsarii pecuniæ, vel alii rempublicam turbantes, justè morte puniantur: ergo etiam heretici, qui sunt falsarii fidei, et, experientiâ teste, rempublicam gravitèr perturbant. . . . . Idem probatur ex condemnatione articuli 14. Joan. Hus. in concilio Constantiensi."—Dens, Tract. de Virtutibus. De Pœnis Criminis Hæresis. Tom. ii. p. 89. Dublin, 1832.

[c] For this collection of authorities we are indebted to the Controversial correspondence with Rev. Paul Maclachlan. Partridge & Co. London, 1855, p. 253 *et seq.*

Turning then to the Canon Law, or "*Corpus Juris Canonici*," we find ample material at hand. The edition to which we at present refer is that of "Coloniæ Munatianæ," 1779, a reprint of the text of Gregory XIII. We have only room for the heading of the various decrees, which are sufficiently indicative of their contents.

Decret. ii. pars, causa xxiii. q. 4, § 38, p. 315, *et seq.* This decree is headed "Heretics are to be *forced* to salvation." Again, another heading is, "Heretics profitably suffer what the Catholics profitably inflict." (§ 39.) A third, "The Church rightly persecutes heretics." At p. 317 we read, "The Church may seek the aid of kings." Under Pope Gregory I., cap. 48, we read, "Earthly powers ought to war against the enemies of the Church." Again, "What the *priests* cannot effect by teaching, *power* must exact." (Isidorus, in Quæst. v. c. xx.) "Let secular powers *coerce* schismatics and heretics." (Pope Pelagius, c. xliii.) "They are not homicides who, from zeal for Mother Church, are armed against the excommunicated." (Pope Urban II., c. xlvii.)

In the Decretals of Pope Gregory IX., p. 238, under the title "De Hæreticis," we read, by order of Pope Lucius III., that heretics are to be handed over to the secular powers to be punished, and their goods confiscated to the Church. And the like is decreed by Innocent III. (p. 239), who adds that advocates and notaries are not to give advice to heretics. The fourth (General) Council of Lateran, under this same Innocent III., as we shall presently see, decreed the general extermination of all heretics. Pope Gregory IX. (p. 241) also decreed the same, and absolved all persons from their oath of allegiance to heretics.

The "Magnum Bullarium Romanum" (Luxemburg edit. 1727), a book of undoubted authority, furnishes us with useful information on the subject in hand. In the first volume, under the title of Pope Honorius III., A.D. 1216, we find this Pope issuing a Bull confirming the laws of the Emperor Frederick II. for the extermination of heretics. In 1243 Innocent IV. issued a Bull to the same effect, and in the same year (see tom. i. p. 103) he issued another Bull directing a crusade against heretics. Alexander IV., A.D. 1254 (tom. i. p. 122), issued a similar exterminating Bull, and appointed the Inquisitors; and in 1262 Pope Urban IV. instructed these Inquisitors to exterminate heretics. Pope Clement IV., in 1265 (p. 140), confirmed the constitution of Pope Innocent IV. against heretics. Pope Nicholas III., by Bull dated 1278, further decreed the excommunica-

tion of heretics, and for handing them over to the secular arm.

In 1317 Pope John XXII. decreed the extermination of all the "enemies of the orthodox faith;" and Pope Boniface IX., in 1391, like Honorius III., reconfirmed the exterminating laws of the Emperor Frederick II.

In 1418 Martin V. ("Mag. Bull. Rom." fol. 289; Luxemb. 1727) issued his famous Bull against Wickliffe, Huss, and Jerome of Prague, and condemned them and their followers for holding heretical opinions, and handed them over to the secular courts for punishment. We shall presently see that these secular courts were by the Canon Law *compelled* to inflict the ordered punishments.

Dr. Milner says, that "The Council of Constance, in condemning John Huss of heresy, declared that its power extended to nothing further."[a] And does Dr. Milner and his retailers expect that we are to be amused with this exhibition of prudish abstinence! The Council no doubt imagined that, by merely leaving Huss to the course of the law, they were themselves exempt from any blood-guiltiness. But what was the result of their proceedings? During the 15th session Huss, and during the 21st Jerome of Prague, were condemned to the flames for holding so-called heretical opinions, notwithstanding the safe-conduct which had been vouchsafed by the Council, and on which they relied; and it was at the 45th session of this Council that Martin V. issued the last-named Bull, thus approving of the previous decree of the Council; and Bellarmine (Book i. On Councils, cap. 7) says, "This Council, with respect to its last session, and of all those things which Martin V. approved, is admitted by all Catholics" as general, and therefore infallibly binding. The fate of these martyrs is well known. They were burnt alive. The murders were the result of the decree of a Popish Council, and enacted by Popes; for John XXIII. in 1414, had already exhorted the King of Bohemia to "root out" the errors of Wickliffe.

The Council expressly declared that no safe-conduct given to presumed heretics by princes or others should be a protection, however binding the instrument might be considered, and that the proper *ecclesiastical* authority should inquire into the errors of the party, and otherwise proceed against them.[b]

[a] P. 466, Letter xlix. In Von der Hardt's "Rerum Conc. Constantiensis," tom. iv. part 6, p. 440.

[b] Labb. Concil. ed. Mansi, tom. xxvii. p. 799. See Cramp's "Text-book of Popery," p. 485. London, 1851.

Bzovius, the Romish historian, who continued the annals of Baronius, admits that armies of 500,000 men were raised to exterminate the unoffending Albigenses "at the command and exhortation of Pope Innocent III.;"[a] and Innocent VIII., by a Bull, enjoined the secular powers, under pain of anathema, to take up arms to extirpate these simple-hearted followers of Christ, "wherever they could be found."[b] And Bzovius again says, that "innumerable heretics were burnt alive" for "persisting in their obstinacy." Romanists shrink from taking the responsibility of the Inquisition on their Church, but hear what Bzovius further says:[c] "About that time, Pope Innocent III. (as Sixtus V. relates in his diploma for the institution of the festival of St. Peter the Martyr) authorized the godlike Dominick to distinguish himself against the heretics, by constant preaching and meetings for discussion, and by *the office of the Inquisition, which he first intrusted to him;* and that he should either reconcile them to the Church, if they were willing to be reconciled, *or strike them with a just sentence if they were unwilling to return.*"

But to continue to quote the persecuting decrees of successive Popes. After Martin, we have, in 1486, Innocent VIII., and Pope Julius II. in 1511, who each issued similar Bulls for the anathematizing and the punishment of heretics. Leo X., in 1520, issued his Bull wherein, among other so-called errors of Martin Luther, he condemned his assertion that the burning of heretics was contrary to the will of the Holy Spirit; and this same Leo declared that the exter-

[a] Bzovii Annales Eccl., tom. xiii. p. 156. An. Chr. 1209. Innoc. III. 12 and 14.

[b] We here add an extract from the Bull itself, *to prove* that the secular authorities were compelled, by *anathema* of the Popes, to execute the judgments against heretics (tom. i. p. 453, ed. Lugd. 1655):—

"Inquisitorum hæreticæ pravitatis sententiæ contra hæreticos promulgatæ, a magistratibus sæcularibus executioni demandentur absque aliquâ processuum revisione.

"Innocentius Papa VIII. venerabili fratri nostro episcopo Brixien. et dilecto filio Inquisitori in partibus Lombardiæ.

"2. At cum hujusmodi crimen hæresis sit merè ecclesiasticum, et delicta nullo pacto impunita remanere debeant, tenore præsentium vobis committimus atque mandamus, ut si est ita, eisdem officialibus sæcularibus civitatis Brixiensis, sub excommunicationis pœna, et aliis censuris ecclesiasticis, præcipiatis atque mandetis, ut infra sex dies, postquam legitime fuerint requisiti, sine aliquâ dictorum processuum per vos agitatorum visione, sententias per vos latas contra hujusmodi hæreticos promptè exequantur, appellatione remota. Quam excommunicationis pœnam ipso facto volumus, et tenore præsentium declaramus incurrisse, si, quod mandatum fuerit, infrà dictum sex dierum spatium, cessante legitimo impedimento, cum effectu non impleverint, &c.

"Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris, die trigesimo Septemb. 1486, Pontif. nost. an. tertio."—(Innocentius Octavus, Magnum Bullarium Romanum. Luxemburgi, 1727.)

[c] Ibid. Inquisitio. An. Ch. 1215. Innoc. III. c. 19.

minating constitutions of the German emperors were laudable.[a]

In 1527, about forty years previous to the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the bishops and clergy assembled at the Council of Sens or Paris, and issued a missive exhorting all *Christian princes* to exterminate heretics, and this was aimed more particularly against the Lutherans.[b]

Clement VII. in the following year then issued his Bull for the extermination of heretics. Paul III., in 1536, reissued the Bull known as the Bull "In Cœna Domini," which was directed against the followers of Luther; and this same Pope, in 1542, after giving authority to the Inquisitors in matters concerning heresy, declares that the secular arm is to be called in to assist in the persecutions. And the Bull of Julius III., A.D. 1550, was issued against all those who opposed these Inquisitors. We then have the comprehensive Bull of Paul IV., A.D. 1559, which concentrates and calls into exercise *all* the persecuting decrees, acts of councils, and bulls that had ever been enacted or issued against heretics. Pope Pius V., ever ready for such services, in 1569 addressed a special letter to Charles IX. of France, previous to the massacre of St. Bartholomew, urging him on to the persecution of heretics.[c] Shortly after followed the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

We cannot, however, pass over this enumeration, without giving prominence, more particularly to the famous decree of Innocent III. passed at the fourth Council of Lateran, which Gregory IX. inserted in the Canon Law of the Church of Rome, or Decretals, and which to this day stands unrepealed:—

"We excommunicate and anathematize every heresy exalting itself against that holy orthodox and Catholic faith, which we have above set forth; condemning all heretics, by whatever names they may be denominated,—having, indeed, different faces, but tails tied together, because they all agree in the same folly. Let those persons, when condemned, be abandoned to the secular authorities being present, or to their officers, in order that they may be *duly punished*—those who are clergymen being degraded; so that the *property* of persons thus condemned, if laymen, shall be *confiscated*,—and in the case of clergymen, applied to the Churches from which they drew their stipends. But let those who are discovered as only notably suspected—unless, according to the nature of the suspicion and the quality of the person, they show their innocence by a suitable purgation—be *struck with the sword of anathema*. . . . Let the secular powers, whatever offices they may hold, be advised and instructed, and, if need be, *compelled* by ecclesiastical censure, and as they desire to be reputed and held faithful, to take a public oath for the defence of the faith, that they will study to the utmost to *exterminate* from all territories subject to their jurisdiction all heretics so marked by the Church. . . . . And

[a] Bulla Leonis Papæ X. advs. Lutherum, An. Chr. 1520; in Labb. et Coss. Concil. tom. xiv. Paris, 1672.

[b] Labb. et Coss., tom. xiv. coll. 432 and 440, and see col. 461. Paris, 1672.

[c] Pii Quinti, Pont. Max. Epist. lib. iii. Epist. 45, à Goubau, Antvp. 1640.

if the secular power refuse to comply, let it be signified to the sovereign pontiff, that he may declare the *vassals released from their fealty, and give the country to Catholics, who, having exterminated the heretics, may peaceably possess it.*

"We add, moreover, that every archbishop, by himself or by his archdeacons, or other *honest* (?) and fit (?!) persons, should traverse, at least once or twice a year, every parish in which it is rumoured that heretics reside; and there compel three or four men of good repute—or, if expedient, the whole neighbourhood—to make known to him any heretics, or person holding secret conventicles, or dissenters from the life and manners of the faithful."[a]

In conformity with this Bull, every bishop is compelled to swear, "All heretics, schismatics, and rebels against the same our lord (the Pope), or aforesaid successors, I will, *to the utmost of my power, persecute and attack.*[b]

In a late Roman work on the Canon Law, Devoti's "Jus Canonicum," a publication now in use, and of authority in England, it is laid down, that everything contained in the Decretals of Gregory IX. *is law.*[c]

In this last decree we find a full and sufficient reply to all the arguments and assertions of Dr. Milner. The *Church*, he says, does not persecute, but heretics are to be struck with the sword of anathema, and when condemned, they are to be abandoned to the *secular* power, which in turn is to be compelled by *ecclesiastical* censure to carry out the *Church's* condemnation.

Truly this is a pitiful and paltry manœuvre, but it will not hold good. "Qui facit per alios facit per se," is an old legal

[a] Decret., headed Innocent III., in Concilio Generali, reprinted in the Corp. Juris Can., tom. ii. p. 758, edit. Lips. 1839.

[b] "Hæreticos, schismaticos, et rebelles, eidem Domino nostro, vel successoribus prædictis, PRO POSSE, PERSEQUAR ET IMPUGNABO."—Pontificale Romanum, p. 88, edit. Paris 1664. This edition is in use by Dr. Wiseman; and see Decretum Greg. IX. lib. ii. tit. 24.

Titulars in Roman Ireland, on being examined before a committee of the House of Lords, were bold enough to declare that the persecuting canon of the fourth Lateran Council was spurious, and not found in the original. But this decree of the fourth Lateran Council, held by Innocent III., is to be found at the present day in the Canon Law of the Roman Church, as above quoted and referred to.

The decree of the fourth Lateran Council, commanding the extermination of heretics, is to be found also in Labb. and Coss. Concil., tom. xi. ab anno 1138 ad annum 1284, Paris. edit. 1671—Title "III. de Hæreticis;" and see p. 423. The decree of the Council of Constance, that heretics are to be burnt alive, is found in the same edition of "Councils," tom. xxvii. p. 1196. In the "Concilium Oxoniense," sec. 13, anno Dom. 1408, we find a decree that heretics in England should be burnt alive.

[c] "Hodie Corpus Juris Canonici, quo in scholis, et in foro utimur, constat ex Gratiani Decreto, decretalibus Greg. IX., Sexto Decretalium Bonifacii VIII., Clementinis, Extravagantibus; Gratiani Decretum, uti supra ostendimus, nullam per se habet publicam auctoritatem; sed ea donatæ sunt cæteræ collectiones, quarum nunc facta mentio est: *quidquid igitur in iis comprehenditur legem facit:* contra quæ in Decreto continentur tantum valent, quantum per se ipsa extra Decretum valerent."—(Devoti, "Jus Canonicum," tom i. p. 379, ed. Rom. 1837.)

axiom, which is equally applicable to the Church of Rome as to secular communities, and we unhesitatingly assert that the Church of Rome *is* responsible for the persecution of (so-called) heretics.

Sec. III.—The Persecuting Spirit of Rome.[a]

Though we should give up the authenticity and genuineness of the atrocious third canon of the fourth Lateran Council, or even of the whole of the seventy statutes of that celebrated synod, we should still be in possession of ample materials, wherewith to make good against the Church of Rome the charge of *teaching* and carrying into effect, whenever and wherever she can, the doctrine of persecution.

The charge is, indeed, a grave one, and should not be advanced upon slight grounds; for it involves a far greater degree of guilt than the mere *act* of persecution, which, if not in accordance with the *teaching* of the Church, affects not the *Church*, but simply the *perpetrators* of that act. Of this the modern champions of Rome are fully aware, and, whilst they admit that persecution has taken place to a great extent, endeavour to remove all responsibility from the *Church*, by asserting that such persecution was not in accordance with the spirit of Rome's teaching, but, on the contrary, altogether opposed to it.

On this point we are content to join issue, and, in order that the whole proceeding may be fairly conducted, we are further content that the decision of the question shall rest entirely on the accredited witnesses of Rome herself. Let us distinctly state the charge, which is as follows:—That "Rome has embodied such a principle in her system, so as to make herself responsible for the deeds of cruelty which her sons have perpetrated under the pretence of religion."[b]

Such is the charge; let us now proceed to examine the evidence, and we shall discover traces of this persecuting spirit at a very early period.

A remarkable instance of it occurs in the "Conventus Aquisgranensis" (Aix-la-Chapelle) in the year 797 or 799.

[a] The following paper was furnished to us after the former had been prepared. Though on the same subject, we feel sure that our readers will not regret that we have given it a place in our pages. For this and the following article, "King James II.," we are indebted to the Rev. John Evans, the author of the "Statutes of the Fourth Council of Lateran."

[b] See "The Persecuting Spirit of Rome," a Lecture delivered at St. Chad's Church, Shrewsbury, March 20, 1851, by the Rev. John Evans, M.A.

What is termed a "Capitulatio Caroli Magni," is given, wherein we find the following clause:—"If any one among the Saxons has inadvertently not been baptized, and chooses still to hide himself away, and shall despise coming to be baptized, preferring to continue a pagan, let him die the death."[a]

The Rev. David O'Croly cites a passage from Becanus to the following effect:[b]—"If the Church in the first ages did not subject heretics to the punishment of death, it was because she was weak and impotent—unconnected with civil power and civil authority; in proof of which, it is sufficient to remark, that she no sooner became powerful and strong, than she began to exercise severity towards all those who had the hardihood to gainsay her doctrines. She first inflicted the penalty of banishment; afterwards pecuniary fines; then confiscation of all their goods; until at length, exasperated by their obstinacy and insolence, she proceeded to the last extremities, and subjected them to all the horrors of capital punishment, as we may read in the laws of Valentinian and Marcian, *lib. quicunque.*" Here we find no attempt to shift the responsibility from the Church to the civil power! The whole *merit* of the proceeding is claimed for the CHURCH, and an apology is offered for her shortcomings "in the first ages;" she did not *then* persecute, because, forsooth, "she was weak and impotent." As she grew in power she amply redeemed the faults of her early days; and Becanus, as cited by Mr. O'Croly, assigns the reason which, according to Romish theology, justified the proceedings of the Church. "In fine," writes Becanus,[c] "*religious liberty*, being directly opposed to unity of faith, and ruinous to the commonwealth, is by no means to be sanctioned; and it is *lawful and requisite* to protect orthodoxy by the infliction of pains and penalties, by the persecution of heretics, and the extinction of heresy." Whether we agree with Becanus, that persecution is "lawful and requisite," or not, we shall find ample reason to acknowledge the truth of his statement respecting the *doings* of his Church as Rome increased in power. Time, most assuredly, did not soften the spirit displayed in the "Capitulatio" above cited, and we find it in after-days raging in all its fury against

[a] "Conventus Aquisgranensis. Caroli Magni Capitulatio de Partibus Saxoniæ, A.D. 797." Labbe and Cossart, tom. vii. col. 1132. Paris, 1671.

"VII. Si quis deinceps in Gente Saxonum inter eos latens non baptizatus se abscondere voluerit, et ad baptismum venire contempserit, paganusque permanere voluerit, morte moriatur."

[b] "An Inquiry into the Principal Points of Difference, Real or Imaginary, between the Two Churches," p. 236. Dublin, Milliken and Son; London, B. Fellowes, 1835.

[c] Or Van der Beeck, of the Jesuit Order, who wrote "Manuale Controversiarum hujus Temporis," Antverpiæ, 1624; often reprinted.

the followers of Peter Waldus, with regard to whom even Reinerius Sacco, an Inquisitor General, who wrote about the year 1254, bears this testimony: "They have a show of piety in their life and conversation; they repose their belief in God, and in all the articles of the creed, and only blaspheme the Roman Church and clergy." "For blasphemy like this," observes Grier, "they were hunted down like wild beasts, and for an adherence to their Christian principles their virtuous descendants of the present day are exposed to the unmitigated severity of Popish persecution."[a] What had the *temporal* powers to do with these poor people? Their conduct as *citizens* was faultless, their creed even correct; their only fault, according to the Inquisitor's own testimony, was, that they "*blasphemed*"—a strong term, by the way—"the Roman Church and clergy." For *what*, then, and at *whose* instigation were they so cruelly persecuted? Becanus, as we have seen, can answer the question: "In fine, *religious liberty* being directly opposed to the unity of faith, and ruinous to the commonwealth, is by no means to be sanctioned;" although nothing in the creed of these unfortunate people was discovered contrary to "the unity of faith," nor anything in their conduct "ruinous to the commonwealth," yet they claimed "*religious liberty*," and Rome judged that this was "by no means to be sanctioned;" assuredly her policy was prudent, if not of a Christian character, for *religious liberty* would be like the fabled upas-tree in the paradise of Rome; her fairest flowers would wither and die beneath its destructive influence.

The *motive* appealed to in the decree of Aix-la-Chapelle is distinctly avowed in the well-known canon of the third General Council of Lateran, A.D. 1179, under Pope Alexander III. This celebrated canon[b] was directed against the Albigenses, under which name, it would appear, were denominated all who were opposed to the Roman Pontiff. The canon commences thus: "Although ecclesiastical discipline, as the blessed Leo saith, being content with the judgment of priests, does not take sanguinary revenge, yet it is assisted by the decrees of Catholic princes, that men may often seek a saving remedy through fear of corporal punishment." After enumerating the titles by which these heretics were called, the canon proceeds to subject to "a curse both themselves,

[a] "Hæc secta magnam habet speciem pietatis, eò quod coram hominibus juste vivant, et bene omnia de Deo credant, et omnes articulos qui in symbolo continentur: solummodo *Romanam Ecclesiam* blasphemant et *clerum*."—Reiner Sac., cap. iv. p. 54. See Grier's "Epitome of the Councils," p. 175. Dublin, 1828.

[b] Labbe and Cossart, tom. x. col. 1522, sec. 27. Paris, 1671.

their protectors or harbourers, and all persons who admit them into their houses or lands, or have any dealings with them. But if they depart in this sin, let not the oblation be made for them (under any pretext of privileges granted to any from us, or on any other ground), nor let them receive burial among Christians." The canon then names the Brabançons, and the people of Arragon, Navarre, and the Basque provinces, charging them with paying no respect to churches, sparing neither age nor sex, but, "after the manner of heathens," wasting and destroying everything; it directs that they "be considered bound by the same sentence and penalty as the fore-mentioned heretics, nor be admitted to the communion of the Church, until they have abjured that pestilent company and heresy." . . . . "And let their goods be confiscated, and let it be free for princes to subject such persons to slavery." . . . . "We also, out of Divine mercy, and relying on the authority of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, grant to the faithful Christians, who have taken arms against them, and, at the advice of the bishops and other prelates, have contended to drive them out, a relaxation of two years from enjoined penance." We need not here enter into the truth or falsehood of the charge brought against the Brabançons and others, but merely remark that, if *true*, then the canon interferes with the civil laws, and that the Albigenses, against whom the canon was directed, as said in the commencement, are not charged with open outrages, but merely a hint given of their practising "secret wickedness." All that we are *now* concerned with is the *spirit* of the canon; and the *avowed* principle of *forcing* men to "seek a saving remedy through *fear of corporal punishment*."

Whatever may be the merit of this exterminating canon, it was confirmed by the reigning Pontiff, and forms a part of the Canon Law of Rome to this day. In the year 1209, the Provincial Council of Avignon[a] made a more general provision for the extermination of heretics. In the second canon (which is headed "That heretics be exterminated and punished; that Jews be deprived of all administration") the necessity of calling in the aid "of the material sword" is declared, and directions given that every bishop cause his subjects, counts, castellans, soldiers, and other parishioners to *swear*, if need be, respecting the extirpation of heretics. The canon further establishes "an inquisition of two or three, or more if necessary, laymen of good character, to be sworn to discover heretics," &c. If the twenty-seventh canon of the third Lateran Council was not sufficiently general in the denuncia-

[a] Labbe and Cossart, tom. xi. col. 41, *et seq.* Edit. Paris, 1671.

tion of heretics, and if the decree of Avignon, as that of a Provincial Council, might seem wanting in authority to enforce the more general denunciation, the deficiency in both respects was amply atoned for by a document, for the conciliar character of which we need not, for our present purpose, contend. We may consider the third canon of the fourth Lateran Council simply as a constitution of Pope Innocent III., and as such breathing the spirit of the Church of Rome; being concerted and issued by the supreme head of that Church, and bearing out the observations of Becanus, that in proportion as the Church gained power, she exhibited that power in persecuting all gainsayers. Must we remind our readers, that, in order to prevent mistakes, and to take away all excuse for negligence in carrying out the provisions of the canon, decree, or constitution—call it what you will—a *creed* is given, to which reference is made, and an anathema thundered forth against all who shall dare to exalt themselves against such creed? Here, too, we have no enumeration of crimes, as was the case in the twenty-seventh canon of the third Lateran Council, but simply the crime of heresy, to which the most fearful penalties are attached!—an ample vindication of the Albigenses, if, as Lingard chooses to assert, those people were contemplated by the decree.

"We[a] excommunicate and anathematize every heresy which exalteth itself against this holy, orthodox, and Catholic faith, *which we have set forth above:* condemning all heretics, by whatsoever name they may be called; who have, indeed, diverse faces, but their tails are bound together, for they make agreement in the same folly."....."Let such persons, when condemned, be left to the secular powers who may be present, or to their officers, to be punished in a fitting manner; those of the clergy first being degraded from their orders: so that the goods of such condemned persons, if they shall be laymen, be confiscated; but in the case of clerks be applied to the churches from which they derived their stipends." "But let those who are only marked with suspicion, be smitten with the sword of anathema, and be shunned by all men until they make proper satisfaction; unless, according to the grounds of suspicion and the quality of the person, they shall have demonstrated their innocence by a proportionate purgation. So that if they shall remain under excommunication for a twelvemonth, thenceforth let them be condemned as heretics. And let the secular powers, whatever offices they may discharge, be admonished and induced,

[a] Labbe and Cossart, tom. xi. p. i. col. 147-9. Paris, 1671. We repeat this decree here as coming under the title of "Persecuting *Councils*."

and, if need be, compelled by ecclesiastical censure, that as they desire to be reported and accounted faithful, they publicly set forth an oath, that to the utmost of their power they will, *bonâ fide*, strive to exterminate from the lands subject to their jurisdiction all heretics pointed out by the Church; so that whensoever any person is advanced, either to spiritual or temporal power, he be bound to confirm this decree with an oath." And so, according to Dr. Milner, this is a *temporal* decree! The *crime* is *heresy*, a *spiritual* offence; the *moving power* to stir up the *temporal* powers to *exterminate heretics* is *excommunication, anathema, ecclesiastical censure!* for the decree thus proceeds: "But if any temporal lord, *being required and admonished by the Church*, shall neglect to cleanse his country of this heretical filth, let him be bound with the chain of *excommunication* by the metropolitan and the other co-provincial bishops. And if he shall scorn to make satisfaction within a year, let this be signified to the Supreme Pontiff, that thenceforth he may declare his vassals to be absolved from their fidelity to him, and may expose his land to be occupied by the Catholics, who, the heretics being exterminated, may, without contradiction, take possession of it, and possess it in the purity of the faith; saving the right of the chief lord, so long as he himself presents no obstacle, and offers no hindrance in this matter; the same law, nevertheless, being observed concerning those who have not lords in chief." "But let the Catholics who, having taken the sign of the cross, have girded themselves for the extermination of the heretics, enjoy the same indulgence, and be armed with the same holy privilege as is conceded to those who go to the assistance of the Holy Land." So then, the *temporal* power, "the secular arm," is called in and urged to *exterminate* the heretics: but, whatever violence may be used, whatever tortures inflicted, whatever blood may be shed, in carrying into effect the behests of the CHURCH; that Church, with unblushing effrontery, when charged with the deed, exclaims, "Thou canst not say *I* did it." Oh, no! the Church merely cheers on, and rewards with an "*indulgence*," the assassin whose arm strikes the blow! The spirit of this exterminating decree was speedily and extensively carried out, and its provisions echoed by numerous provincial councils, such as that of Cremona, A.D. 1226; Narbonne, A.D. 1127; Toulouse, A.D. 1229; Beziers, A.D. 1233, and others. How sincere is the prayer of Rome, when she delivers over her victims to the "secular arm," that *mercy* may be shown to them, is proved by the nineteenth decree of the Council of Narbonne, "Ut a carcere nemo excusetur propter senium,"—"That no

one be excused from prison on account of old age."[a] "With regard," says the decree, "to those who are to be imprisoned, we have also thought right to add, that neither the husband on account of his wife, although young, nor any one on account of their children or parents, or of those otherwise related, or on account of infirmity, or age, or any other like cause, be excused from imprisonment without the special indulgence of the Apostolic See." Here the temporal power is *forbidden* to show mercy!

The reiterated threats of ecclesiastical censures against those temporal lords who showed no alacrity in carrying out the decrees against the heretics, prove it to have been an ungracious task; that the *temporal* powers would have let the work of extermination alone, if they had not been urged on by the *spiritual* authorities! That this inference is not an incorrect one, we have no less a testimony than that of Pope Innocent IV. He writes to the authorities of Lombardy,[b] *approving* and *enforcing* the laws of Frederick II. against heretics, and in case of their demur, tells them that he will cause the Inquisitors to *compel* them to carry out the laws, which he recites *verbatim*: at the end of those laws, thus approved and sought to be enforced, are these words:— "And we order that those who are marked by this inquisition, although but slight proof of superstition attach to them, be examined by ecclesiastics and prelates; by whom, if they shall be found to deviate from the Catholic faith at least in an article [of faith], and being by them admonished in a pastoral manner, shall be unwilling, forsaking the devil of darkness, to acknowledge the God of light, but persevere in their conceited obstinacy of error: we decree that the Patareni and other heretics, by whatsoever name they may be reckoned [or called], being condemned by the edict of our present law, suffer the death which they affect: that, being consigned to the trial of flames, they be publicly burned alive." "Nor do we grieve that in this particular, from which they obtain punishment only, and no other fruit of their error, we satisfy their own wish." Such is the law, and such the sentiment approved by Pope Innocent IV. (A.D. 1243). Nearly 300 years afterwards we find the Council of Sens making the test of heresy equally strict. "Moreover, those who have been guilty of *one* species of heresy, or have erred in *one article* of faith, and have afterwards simply or generally abjured heresy, if they are guilty

[a] Tom. xi. part i. col. 493. Paris, 1671.

[b] "XIII. Ad Lombardiæ, Romaniolæ et Marchiæ Tarvisinæ Rectores." Labbe and Cossart, tom. xi. p. i. col. 621. Paris, 1671.

of another species of heresy, we decree to be judged as lapsed into heresy."[a] This Council treats the enactments of the third canon of the fourth Lateran Council as *well known*, and enforces the provisions of that canon almost in its very words. However ungracious the work of "exterminating heretics" may have seemed to those "temporal powers," whose zeal the Pope found it necessary to quicken by threats of *compulsion*, should they appear slack in bringing "the secular arm" to his assistance, it was to the Pope himself a "pleasant work," if we may judge from the concluding words of the document above cited:—"We, king of kings, utterly execrate, pursue with vengeance, despoil of all their goods, those apostatizing from the Catholic faith; and restrain them by laws, as making shipwreck of profession and of life. We cut off their successors, and take away from them every legitimate right."[b] If such be the sentiment of the *head* of the Roman Catholic Church, and if such be the terms in which that sentiment is expressed, can we wonder to find a spirit of persecution pervading the whole of the Canon Law of Rome? It would be strange indeed if it did not so pervade it, especially when we remember the boast of Rome that she is "Semper eadem!" Whatever miracles her advocates may claim for her, there is yet *one* which she has not attempted to perform; "the leopard" has not *yet* attempted to "change her spots!" To suppose that Innocent IV., when speaking *ex cathedrâ* (though *we* do not admit the claim of infallibility, either on the part of Pope or Council), spoke merely as an individual, and not as the organ of the Church, would indeed be a grievous error, and, should we fall into it, we should find ourselves quickly and sternly corrected by the most eminent divines of the Romish communion. In citing the opinions of such writers, we may have occasion to repeat passages from their works already cited; but it will be necessary to do so, as such passages not only prove the authenticity and genuineness of the documents in support of which we quoted them, but also prove those documents to be a necessary and inseparable portion of the system to which they belong. The reader also will have the advantage of being familiarized with a number of proofs,

[a] "Insuper eos qui in *una* specie hæresis commiserunt aut in *uno* fidei articulo erraverunt," &c.—Labbe and Cossart, tom. xiv. col. 440, *et seq.* Paris, 1671; see p. 199, *antè*.

[b] "Rex Regum Apostantes à fide Catholicâ penitus execramur, insequimur ultionibus, bonis omnibus spoliamus. Et ut a professione vel vitâ naufragantes legibus coarctamus. Successiones tollimus, ab eis omne jus legitimum abdicamus."—Datum Perusii, Secundo Kal. Novemb. Pontificatus Nostri Anno Primo.—Ibid. col. 623.

which, whilst in point of *succession* they furnish a *catena*, have yet the advantage of cumulative evidence; for, if we may so speak, each link of the chain thus presented is fully sufficient for the stress it has to sustain—quite strong enough to form an indissoluble connection between Rome and her *doctrine* of persecution, as well as her *practice*.

So imperative a duty did the Council of Constance, in 1414, consider the extirpation of heretics, that it condemned to the flames Jerome of Prague and John Huss; in *both* cases, but more especially in the latter instance, adding treachery to cruelty, by violating the safe-conduct on the strength of which Jerome and Huss had been induced to attend the Council. At whose instance Jerome and Huss were *burned*, we have the testimony of Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pius II., who tells us "sentence was passed [against Huss and Jerome] in the assembly of the fathers, that those who should refuse the doctrine of the Church *were to be burned*."[a]

It is worth our while to remark, how every attempt to evade the charges of cruelty or treachery against the Church of Rome defeats itself: thus Delahogue, in his zeal to exonerate the Council of Constance, confirms all that has been said respecting the persecuting spirit of the whole system of Rome!

"The defence," says Grier, "he sets up for it is this, that Jerome, having relapsed into the heresy which he had abjured,—'excidit ab omni salvi conductus privilegio.'"[b] Unless there had been a standing law of Rome awarding the penalty of death in such cases, how could Delahogue affirm that Jerome, by relapsing into heresy, had "forfeited all privilege of a safe-conduct?" The very force of his justification of the *Council* rests upon the *guilt* of his *Church* in this matter. Spondanus, as cited by Grier, still more strongly, if possible, brings the charge home to the *ecclesiastical* authorities; in defending the emperor, he tells us "that the *emperor* could not compel the *ecclesiastical* power to respect the faith he had pledged [to Huss,] as it was *beyond* his jurisdiction."[c] We must not omit the defence, by Simanca, a learned Spaniard, of part of the proceedings at Constance against Huss; Simanca maintains,[d] "that faith given to heretics is

[a] "*Lata est in consessu patrum* adversus contumaces sententia, CREMANDOS ESSE qui doctrinam Ecclesiæ respuerint."—Hist. Bohem. c. 36, cited in Grier's Epitome of the Councils, p. 231. Dublin, 1828. The *subjunctive* form, "qui respuerint," might, perhaps, be more correctly translated "*for* rejecting." See Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, vol. iii. pp. 493, 524, edit. 1853.

[b] Grier's Epitome, pp. 227, 228. Dublin, 1828.

[c] Annal. Compend. xiv. cap. 15—45. Grier, p. 228.

[d] Simanca De Catholicis Institutionibus, tit. xlvi. sec. 52, 1569. Grier, pp. 231, 232.

not to be kept; for if faith is not to be kept with tyrants, pirates, and other public robbers, because they slay the body, *much less* is it to be kept with obstinate heretics, who slay the soul." . . . . "RIGHTLY, therefore, were certain heretics consigned to *lawful* flames by the most weighty judgment of the Council of Constance, *although safety had been promised to them;* and blessed Thomas [the angelic doctor] likewise holds that an intractable heretic is to be delivered up to the judges, *notwithstanding* the *faith* and *oath*, by which he may have bound a Catholic." Let us not be told that the Council of Constance is only *partly* acknowledged by the Church of Rome, for the *part* we are now concerned with is fully acknowledged; as Bellarmine says,[a] "This Council, as far as its first session, where it defines that *a Council is above the Pope*, was reprobated in the Councils of Florence and fifth Lateran; the remainder was approved." The only matter rejected is the *defining the authority of a Council as above the Pope's authority*. The very circumstance of a safe-conduct being at all necessary implies the existence of those laws, whose operation the safe-conduct was intended, "pro hac vice," to suspend; and so also did the Council of Trent, by three times granting a safe-conduct, three times establish the existence of the persecuting decrees of the Church, and acknowledge them to be in force! That the attention of the Council of Trent was called to the subject, is proved, also, by the very same circumstance; and we may, therefore, justly infer the *approbation* of such decrees, when she did not repudiate a single clause of any of them, but, on the contrary, *extended their operation* by the canons on baptism. These canons allow the baptism of children by *heretics*, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, to be *valid;* and by virtue of such baptism claim the right of *compelling* all persons, so baptized, to join the communion of Rome![b] But we have been told that all this is merely a "matter of *discipline*," and, as such, may be altered; that the circumstances which required such severity have passed away, and, therefore, these persecuting canons may be considered as in a state of abeyance. We may, then, fairly ask, "Why has no alteration taken place? Why are laws which are no longer required by the circumstances which called them into existence, not only retained, but retained without a single modification?" The only ground, which can be reasonably urged for their being retained, is, that they contain a *principle*, and that *principle* requires that the laws

[a] De Concc. lib. i. cap. 7, p. 12, ed. Paris, 1613.
[b] Canons iv. viii. xiv. "On Baptism."

should still be retained, as circumstances similar to those which called the said laws into existence may *again* arise, and *then* that *principle* would again require the laws to be put in force. Such reasoning is just and conclusive, and if the principle be a wholesome one, it is right that the laws which embody it should remain in force. Be it remembered, however, that if such a *principle*, wholesome or unwholesome, be found to exist, then it becomes a matter of *doctrine;* and if we find that doctrine sought to be deduced from *Scripture*, then, so long as Rome receives the Scripture, even as a partial rule of faith, and so long as INFALLIBILITY is claimed for her, she *cannot* abandon nor alter those laws; nay, if true to her own creed, she must, as an IMPERATIVE DUTY, enforce them when circumstances require, and her position will permit such enforcement. So thought the divines of the Faculty of Theology of Paris; and so they *honestly* stated in their censure on Erasmus's Commentary on the New Testament:—"Whereas it is a *Catholic principle*, and to be held faithfully, that it is not only lawful, but a DUTY, to inflict *death* on obstinate heretics, when it can be done without endangering the State," &c.[a]

So, too, thought the reverend theologues who attended the Council of Trent, if we may judge by the sentiments they have left on record for our guidance in this matter. Fontidonius says: "If this kind of punishment, which the Church *now uses*, seem to you to be cruel, condemn at the same time, in this charge of cruelty, those most holy Fathers who thought that the safety of the Church was to be provided for by the utter *destruction* of heretics; condemn that most keen champion of the Church, Jerome, the thunderbolt of heretics, who decided that putrid flesh must be cut away; . . . . condemn that *glorious* speech of Dioscorus of Alexandria, uttered in the Council of Chalcedon, applauded by the judgment of all, in which he exclaimed that heretics were worthy not only of *punishment*, but of *flames*."[b]

Villalpandeus, after justifying, in his way, the conduct of his Church in putting heretics to death, thus concludes: "Heretics, therefore, without doubt, when, being admonished, they refuse to return to a better mind, are deservedly punished with bonds and *fire*."[c]

[a] "Declarationes ad Censuras Facultatis Theologiæ Parisiensis."—Le Clerc's edition of Erasmus's works, vol. i. col. 905. Lug. Bat. fol. 1706.

[b] "Petri Fontidonii Doctoris Theologi, pro Sacro Œcumenico Concilio Tridentino, adversus Joannem Fabritium Montanum ad Germanos Oratio."—Labbe and Cossart, tom. xiv. col. 1700 *et seq.* Paris, 1671.

[c] "Apologia Indictionis Concilii Tridentini factæ à Pio Quarto Pontifice Maximo. Adversus Joannem Fabricium Montanum. Autore Gasparo Cardillo

We have here no attempt to make the *secular* powers responsible for putting heretics to death; the whole merit is claimed for the *Church*, and we are told respecting the *burning*, also, of heretics, that it is a kind of punishment which "*the Church now uses.*" We fear had such a work as Dr. Milner's "End of Controversy" appeared in those days, the author would scarcely have escaped the charge of heresy; for we still find in all its vigour the spirit of Leo X., who, in a bull of 1520, condemned as erroneous the opinion—"That heretics should be burned is contrary to the will of the Spirit." In vain would Dr. Milner have looked for support to Aquinas, who would have told him that heretics are rightly punished with death, "because forgers of money, and others who disturb the State, are justly punished with death: therefore also heretics, who are forgers of faith, and, as experience testifies, grievously disturb the State." As little comfort would he have received from Eckius, who, in his "Manual of Common Places, against Luther and other enemies of the Church," deduces the doctrine from *Scripture;* and would, doubtless, have referred Dr. Milner to his "Second Homily for St. George the Martyr's Day." Gregory IX., who inserted the third canon of the fourth Lateran Council in the Decretals, would not have commended an assertion so derogatory to the character and claims of Papal Rome; and had Benedict XIV. seen Dr. Milner's book, his holiness would have replied very briefly to the statement in question, "that we may not uselessly waste our time in illustrating a matter *undoubted among all;* it will be abundantly sufficient to allege one sanction of Innocent III. in the fourth General Council of Lateran, an. 1215, in the third canon of which 'De Hæreticis,' bishops are ordered," &c.[a] That the reverend theologues, whose sentiments we have given above, spake not simply their own private opinions, may be gathered from the storm of anathemas poured forth by the assembled fathers at the conclusion of the Council of Trent:—

> Cardinal—"Anathema to all heretics!"
> Response—"Anathema, Anathema!"[b]

Nor was this a *momentary* feeling, a mere occasional outburst of *holy* zeal, for, in the 2nd chapter of the 25th session, it is directed that, in the first Provincial Council to be held after the closing of the Council of Trent, "all heresies condemned by the *Sacred Canons* and *General Councils*, and

Villalpandeo Hispano Segobiense Doctore Theologo."—Ibid. tom. xiv. col. 1885 *et seq.*

[a] See M'Ghee's "Laws of the Papacy," pp. 97 *et seq.;* or p. 242, edit. 1841.

[b] Labbe and Cossart, tom. xiv. col. 921. Paris, 1671.

especially condemned by this same synod, they publicly detest and anathematize;" which is echoed in the clause of the creed of Pius IV. "I also profess and undoubtedly receive all other things delivered, defined, and declared by *the Sacred Canons and General Councils*, and particularly by the holy Council of Trent; and likewise I also condemn, reject, and anathematize, all things contrary thereto, *all heresies whatsoever* condemned, rejected, and anathematized by the Church." Now, as this creed concludes with a solemn oath which binds those who receive it, not only to live and die in the Romish faith, but also to *compel* every one, over whom they have influence, to hold, teach, and preach, "this true Catholic faith, out of which, [it affirms,] no one can be saved," we can easily discern the mind of "the Church" by a reference to canons and decretals, already cited. These persecuting canons, and the doctrine upon which they are based, are made as permanent as an oath can make them. The Tridentine Fathers, as we have seen, were full of the fiery zeal which glowed in the breast of the Jesuit *Tirinus*, when he wrote the following comment on Zech. xiii. 3:—"Whence Lutherans may learn that heretics are to be punished with death, as well in the new law as in the old. For even the very parents, *if they glow with zeal for the divine honour*, acting at once as judges and executioners, will thrust through a son so apostatizing."[a] And lest the spirit which the concluding words of the Tridentine Fathers breathed should pass away, those words were, so to speak, echoed every Maundy Thursday, when the Bull "*In Cœna Domini*" was read in the Pope's presence:—"We excommunicate and anathematize, on the part of Almighty God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and also by the authority of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and by our own, all Wicliffites, Hussites, Lutherans, Calvinists, Anabaptists, and all other heretics, by whatsoever name they are called, and of whatsoever sect they may be, and also all schismatics, and those who withdraw themselves, or obstinately depart from obedience to the Bishop of Rome." Good care is taken, we see, in this Bull to prevent the sons of Rome from supposing that it is the *heresy* only, and not the *person* of the heretic also, whom they are bound to detest and anathematize![b] When, therefore, Dr. Milner tells us

[a] See "R. P. Jacobi Tirini . . . . Commentariorum in Sacram Scripturam Tomus Secundus," p. 56, col. 2. Venetiis, 1738, folio.

[b] "In a work, written by a Roman Catholic, Count FERDINAND DAL POZZO, '*Catholicism in Austria*,' &c., occurs the following passage:—'The Bull *In Cœna Domini* contains a host of the most absurd pretensions. The reading of this Bull, which was usually performed every year at Rome on Holy Thursday,

that "if Catholic states and princes have enforced submission to their Church by persecution, they were fully persuaded that there is a divine authority in this Church to decide all controversies in religion, and those who refuse to hear her voice, when she pronounces upon them, are obstinate heretics," we can only say, that if the states and princes really were so "persuaded," they only believed what they were told, and did as they were bidden. When he asks us, "On what grounds can Protestants persecute Christians of any description whatever?" we answer, "*On no grounds whatever.* We have no canons, no laws to justify such a proceeding." But when he goes on to tell us that the *Church* never persecuted at all! nay, so far from it, that "when an ecclesiastical judge or tribunal has, after due examination, pronounced that any person accused of obstinate heresy is actually guilty of it, he is required by the Church expressly to declare, in her name, that her power extends no further than such decision; and in case the obstinate heretic is liable by the laws of the State, to death or mutilation, the judge is required to pray for his pardon"[a]—When Dr. Milner tells us this, we cannot but feel that he has done his Church the greatest injury it was in his power to do her; he reminds us that she can add *mockery* to *cruelty!* Forsooth, the ecclesiastical judge, when he hands over the condemned heretic to the secular powers, "is required by the Church *expressly* to declare that *her power* extends no further than such decision." Indeed! why this was the very plea urged by the Jews to Pilate for delivering up Jesus to be dealt with by "the secular power;" though the Jews did not add the cruel hypocrisy of praying that Pilate would not injure the innocent victim of their malice. The Jews, it is true, were not permitted by their Roman conquerors "to put any man

was suspended by order of Clement XIV., to avoid offending crowned heads." (See Mendham's "Literary Policy of Rome," p. 260. London, 1830.) A rather curious and illustrative incident, in connection with this "suspended" Bull, appears in a recent pamphlet—"*Boyle versus Wiseman,*" Lond. 1855, pp. 10, 12; where Dr. Burgess, of Bristol, will be found instructing another priest, Mr. T. M. M'Donnell, from *this very* Bull, as promulgated by Pope Martin V., "that all ecclesiastical persons, secular or regular, who shall presume, directly or indirectly, to drag an ecclesiastical person before a lay court shall, for so doing, incur sentence of excommunication *ipso facto.*" The ready adoption of *this* sword of authority was discerned to be very "inexpedient." It would not be safe to employ a weapon, privately, which had been publicly declared now to be "of no authority in England," and the "error was—recognised." But how instructive the use of it! Mr. Boyle will surely abandon a Church, in which "people may accommodate themselves and consciences either to bless or to curse, to save or to ruin, just as it may suit their selfish passions."—See M'Ghee's "Law of the Papacy," pp. 41, 66, 216, 297, 302, edit. 1841.

[a] Letter xlix. p. 466.

to death,"[a] and we are told that the Church of modern Rome forbids the ecclesiastic to dip his hands in blood; but how complete is the parallel, when she delivers up the victim she has pronounced worthy of death, "declaring, We have a law, and by *our law he ought to die.*"[b] Nor does the parallel cease here; if the Jews reminded the hesitating Pilate, that "if thou let this man go, thou art not Cæsar's friend,"[c] so those princes who should be negligent in the work of exterminating heretics are plainly told that they will be deemed no friends of Papal Rome![d] Rome has indeed proved herself rightful heir-at-law of the debased Jewish Church.

Before we dismiss this subject, we should record the fact that the old leaven that worked in the time of Innocent III., in exciting the massacre of the helpless Albigenses, still worked in the breast of Dr. Milner; and as if fearing that Protestants should think that the spirit of his Church had suffered an abatement, he exclaimed, "Thus, to *my judgment*, am I and the whole Catholic body, *without consenting to it*, pledged in the face of the legislature to condemn the wars of Charlemagne and the *crusade* against the infamous Albigenses."[e] We trust we are all children of mercy, trained and educated in the benevolence and charity which Christ has taught and enforced, and if we have read the history of that infernal and murderous persecution of the devoted Albigenses (whose *chief* crime was their determined opposition and resistance of the Papal tyranny), what opinion, or what comment shall we form on this merciless priest, who, after the lapse of *centuries*, feels the *same* passions and the same thirst of blood against those innocent victims of Popish and arbitrary violence? *Crimine ab uno* DISCE OMNES![f]

[a] John xviii. 31. [b] John xix. 7. [c] Ibid. 12.

[d] "Let the secular powers, whatever office they may discharge, be admonished and induced, and, if need be, compelled by ecclesiastical censure, that as they desire to be reputed and accounted faithful, so for the defence of the faith they publicly set forth an oath, that they will endeavour, to the utmost of their power, *bonâ fide*, to *exterminate* from the lands subject to their jurisdiction all heretics denounced by the Church."—Concil. Lat. iv. canon iii. Concil. Arles. 1534, canon iii. &c. &c.

[e] A Réply to the Report published by the Cisalpine Club on the Authenticity of the Protestation, &c., by the Rev. John Milner. London, 1795, p. 28.

[f] The Pursuits of Literature, Dialog. iv. note to line 210, p. 322. London, 1799.

No. XV.

ALLEGED TOLERATION OF JAMES II.

CHARLES XII., King of Sweden, as we read in the history of that chivalrous sovereign, on one occasion undertook, with a few devoted followers, to defend a house against an overwhelming mass of the Turks: during the assault the house caught fire, and the king, in the hurry of the moment, seizing a small cask which was at hand, with the assistance of two of his attendants, poured its contents upon the advancing flames; the contents, alas! proved to be brandy, and, as may readily be supposed, the fury of the fire, instead of being allayed, was increased by the inconsiderate proceeding of the king. The above anecdote was recalled to our mind by the attempt of Dr. Milner to repel the charge of intolerance, brought against the Church of Rome, by selecting for this purpose King James II. as a miracle of toleration! All who know anything of that most unfortunate monarch's reign, are well aware that the Papists, finding that the established Church of England was the grand obstacle to their regaining power in this kingdom, left no means untried to alienate the minds of the people from the Church; and, the more effectually to attain their object, endeavoured to draw in the Dissenters to make common cause with them: all this was to be effected by repealing those Acts of Parliament which, by requiring certain tests, prevented Roman Catholics from occupying positions of power or influence in the country. The repeal, therefore, of such statutes was a necessary preliminary to further proceeding, and, as the Popish party conceived, would be highly gratifying to Dissenters, whose feelings must naturally, they fancied, be conciliated towards the promoters of such *liberal* measures; we must not, therefore, be surprised to find James (who was a devoted Papist) either as Duke of York, or as King of England, zealously supporting any and every measure, calculated to serve the purposes of the party of which he was the ready tool; whilst his zeal for *religious liberty* was, like that of its modern advocates, mercenary, temporary, and delusive. The scheme of inducing Dissenters to make common cause with the Papists was not thought of, in the reign of James II., for the first time; for in the year 1663 we read that "It was certainly the strength of Popery that now chiefly made the separation of Protestants

from the Church of England; the Papists laboured for a liberty which they knew not how to enjoy without *a common relaxation* of the laws against all other Dissenters."[a] Again, in the year 1672, "The Commons in this Parliament were by long experience more and more sensible that the Papists were, for their own pleasure and advantage, playing and striking the Churchmen and Dissenters one against another. At one time the patrons of indulgence, to break the established Communion, and for their own sakes to let in a universal toleration; at another time the pushers on of severity and persecution, to exasperate the Nonconformists against the laws and the Church, and make them fly towards Popery and a dispensing power for refuge and protection."[b] The apprehensions of the Parliament were confirmed by the circumstance of an army, "pretended to be designed for service against the Dutch," being encamped at Blackheath, and of which "*many of the* officers were Papists." This circumstance led to the passing of "an Act for Preventing Dangers which may happen from Popish Recusants," in consequence of which Act "the Duke of *York*, who was general of the army, and the Lord Treasurer Clifford, laid down all their places." When we remember that the said Act contained a clause which imposed the following oath on all persons taking the oaths of supremacy and allegiance: "*I, A. B., do declare, that I do believe there is not any transubstantiation in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, or in the elements of bread and wine, at or after the consecration thereof, by any person whatsoever,*"—we cannot wonder that James, Duke of York, or James II., King of England, should labour to set aside such an Act under any colourable pretence, and claim a toleration for Dissenters and Papists—which Papists, when in power, are bound by their own Canon Law to allow to none who dissent from Popery. The Church of England was the grand barrier, and that once removed, the Popish party well knew that there was no denomination of Dissenters sufficiently numerous or powerful to make head against the Church of Rome! These considerations will enable us to judge of the value of Dr. Milner's position—"Whatever may be said of the intolerance of Mary, I trust that this charge will not be brought against the next Catholic sovereign, James II. I have elsewhere shown, that, when Duke of York, he used his best endeavours to get the Act *De Hæretico Comburendo*, repealed, and to afford an asylum to the Protestant exiles who flocked to England from France on

[a] Compleat History of England, vol. iii. p. 248.
[b] Ibid. pp. 294, 321, edit. 1719.

the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and, in short, that, when king, he lost his crown in the cause of toleration: his declaration of Liberty of Conscience being the determining cause of his deposition." Whatever share the Duke of York might have in repealing the Act *De Hæretico Comburendo*, in 1677, we can scarcely, when we consider his conduct as King James II. (to be noticed hereafter), give him credit for a real love of "*Religious Liberty*;" but we can easily understand, that if credit for a tolerant spirit could thereby be gained for his party, he would readily promote the repeal of the said Act. History, however, tells us a different tale:— "Under the apprehensions of Popery, it was thought to be some wisdom of prevention, to make an Act for taking away the Writ *De Hæretico Comburendo*, whereby it was enacted *That the Writ commonly called Breve de Hæretico Comburendo, with all Proofs and Proceedings thereupon, in order to executing such Writ, or following or depending thereupon, and all punishment* by Death, in pursuance of any Ecclesiastical Censures, be from henceforth utterly taken away and abolished." A wise and prudent enactment; for should Rome gain the ascendancy, she would find no parallel in the laws of the kingdom to justify her own exterminating statutes, and would therefore have the greater difficulty in calling them into action. Every Protestant must rejoice that such a disgrace to any kingdom as the Writ *De Hæretico Comburendo* was removed from the statute-book, be the motive of the repealers what it may; and great cause, indeed, is there for thankfulness that it has never been replaced by any statute or canon of Rome "*De Hæreticis Exterminandis*." The key to James's apparent love of "Religious Liberty" may, perhaps, be found in his speech to the Parliament, November 9, 1685: "Let no man," said the king, "take exception, that there are some officers in the army not qualified, according to the late *Tests*, for their employment: the gentlemen, I must tell you, are most of them well known to me; and having formerly served with me on several occasions, and always approved the loyalty of their principles by their practices, I now think them fit to be employed under me; and will deal plainly with you, that after having had the benefit of their services in such time of need and danger, I will neither expose them to disgrace, nor myself to the want of them, if there should be another rebellion, to make them necessary to me." * How well the intention of James was understood, by persons well qualified to judge of it, at

* Compleat History of England, pp. 434, 439, edit. 1719.

the time, we may gather from the speech of a member of the House of Commons. "And pray let us not forget that there was a *Bill of Exclusion* debated in this House; I was there and showed myself *against* it: the arguments *for* it were, *that we should, in case of a* Popish successor, *have a Popish army*. You see the *Act* of the *Test* already broken: but pray remember what the late Lord Chancellor told you, when the late king (of blessed memory) passed that *Act* (the words were to this effect):—*By this* Act *you are provided against Popery, that no Papist can possibly creep into employment*. I am afflicted greatly at this breach on our liberties; and seeing so great difference betwixt this speech and those heretofore made, cannot but believe this was by some other's advice. This struck at here is our all. And I wonder that there have been any men so desperate as to take employment, not qualified for it, and would have, therefore, the question, that a *standing army* is destructive to the country." Here we have a member declaring how he has, by the king's proceeding, been compelled to recede from his former liberal opinions, and to arrive at the conclusion that a standing army, because officered by men thrust in by the king contrary to the law of the land, would be "destructive to the country." Some such change of opinion has been avowed in our own time by men who advocated the admission of Papists into Parliament, not supposing that any men would have been "so desperate" as to vote in direct opposition to the oath they had taken! Here it may be worth while to notice that whatever ridicule may have been thrown by historians from time to time on the celebrated plot of "Titus Oates," far different opinions have been entertained on that matter. The severe punishment inflicted upon Oates, though he was declared to be "convicted, upon full evidence, of two horrid perjuries, excited the pity of the spectators, and so much the more, they thought, that he had, perhaps, committed some mistakes in the circumstances of time and place, *but the substance* of his evidence was undoubtedly true; for the main of his *depositions* was demonstrated by the *papers* of *Coleman*, and by a concurrence of many other acts and deeds. And it is much to be feared, that the truth of his evidence had given much more offence to the Court than any mistakes in it."[a] With every wish to give James credit for kindness of heart, the heaping of honours on such a man as the infamous Judge Jeffreys, makes us not unreasonably suspect him of hypocrisy when, on a former

[a] Ibid. p. 442.

occasion, he expressed his disapprobation of that monster's proceedings; had the king's abhorrence of the severity of Jeffreys been real, he would scarcely have appointed him, in 1685, "Lord Chancellor." That the king's motives, in disregarding the Test Act, were not misconstrued by the member of the House of Commons whose opinion we have cited, we have full proof in the king's own subsequent speech to the Lords and Commons; he told them "that he would dispense with the *Test Act*, which was the greatest legal barrier against Popery; that he would keep up a standing army, to be commanded by Popish officers, whom he expressly recommended, *in approving the loyalty of their principles by their practices.*"[a] The love for "Religious Liberty" was shown in the prosecution of Richard Baxter, and the way in which the trial was conducted by Jeffreys.[b] The same game of alternate severity and relaxation was played in Scotland, but with a more open avowal of the royal intentions. The Lord High Commissioner Murray, in his speech to the Scottish Parliament in 1686, thus openly declares the meaning of James:—"*And now, my Lords and Gentlemen, after so great and excellent designs for promoting the honour, the ease and wealth of this kingdom; after his resolution to pardon so many enemies, and to free so many of the guilty from further severe but just prosecutions; his Majesty believeth that none will wonder, if he desire, by the advice and consent of his Great Council, to give ease and security to some of his good subjects of the* Roman Catholic Religion, *who have been in all times firm to the Monarchy, and ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes for the service and security of the Crown.*"[c] The creatures of the Court were for immediately passing an Act, but "the wiser part" prevailed to have a committee appointed to examine the laws touching the Papists, which committee, after a full inquiry, drew up a Bill, whereby "Papists were to be allowed the exercise of their religion in private, without repealing those former *Acts*, which made them liable to penalties for publickly assembling together." A warm debate ensuing, the king sent orders to dissolve, or at least to prorogue, the Parliament. The spirit of toleration, the real love for "Religious Liberty," which moved James in all these matters, may be judged of from his letter, in the following February, to the Privy Council of Scotland, which letter was accompanied by "*a Proclamation for Liberty of Conscience and Suspension of the Laws against Papists.*" The letter plainly tells us whose "*tender consciences*" are to be

[a] Compleat History of England, p. 445, edit. 1719.
[b] Ibid. pp. 446, 447. [c] Ibid. p. 448.

cared for; it runs thus:—"*Whereas by Our Letter of the 21st of August last past, We were Graciously Pleas'd to Inform you of Our Designs, in order to the Ease of Our* Roman Catholic *Subjects (unto which We had your Dutiful Answer in some Days thereafter): We have now thought fit to Publish these our Royal Intentions, and to give an additional Ease to those of Tender Consciences: So to convince the World of our Inclinations to Moderation; and to evidence, that those of the Clergy who have been Regular, are our most particular Care. And though We have given some Ease to those whose Principles We can with any safety trust; We have at the same time expressed Our highest Indignation against those Enemies of Christianity, as well as Government and Humane Society, the* Field-Conventiclers, *whom we recommend to you to Root out with all the Severity of our Laws, and with the most vigorous Prosecution of our Force; it being equally Our and Our People's Concern to be rid of them,*" &c.[a] Tolerant, indeed! Whilst the "*tender consciences*" of Papists are to be respected, the poor Field-Conventiclers must be "ROOTED OUT," and that, too, without mercy! What a pity that Dr. Milner had not the above before his eyes when he ventured to hold up James as an example of toleration! But we shall see much more of this kind of "toleration" before we have done with the unfortunate James.

With regard to the reception by James of the Huguenots, who were flying from the persecution in France, consequent upon the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, "it soon," observes Mr. Macaulay, "became clear that all this compassion was simulated merely for the purpose of cajoling his Parliament, that he regarded the refugees with mortal hatred, and that he regretted nothing so much as his own inability to do what Louis had done."[b] According to Hume, no one was deceived by the proceedings of James: "When a prince of so much humanity, and of such signal prudence as Louis, could be engaged, by the bigotry of his religion alone, without any provocation, to embrace such sanguinary and impolitic measures, what might be dreaded, they asked, from James, who was so much his inferior in these virtues, and who had already been irritated by such obstinate and violent opposition? In vain did the king affect to throw the highest blame on the persecutions in France: in vain did he afford the most real protection and assistance to the distressed Huguenots. All these symptoms of toleration were regarded as insidious; opposite to the avowed principles of his sect,

[a] Ibid. p. 448.

[b] Macaulay's Hist. of England, ii. 18.

and belied by the severe administration which he had himself exercised against the Nonconformists in Scotland."[a] If James were sincere in his pity for the persecuted Huguenots, then Dr. Milner fails the more signally in referring to his reign to vindicate the Church of Rome from the charge of persecution; for, in such case, the guilt of those undoubted acts of intolerance which James allowed to be perpetrated, is only removed from the person of the monarch to rest with all its weight upon that system which compelled him to the perpetration of such enormities.[b] As there seems to be a disposition, even in the present day, judging from the concordats of which we have lately heard so much, to imitate Louis XIV. in his Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, it may be as well to give a brief description of the Revocation. We take the following account from the "Catholic Layman," April, 1854:—"It now remains to notice, what the Revocation actually was, and its results. From 1662 down to 1685, a series of measures were adopted, all tending to the injury of the Protestants. They were gradually excluded from all public employment; prohibited from entering any profession, and assailed in the daily exercise of their religion, in the education of their children, and in the management of their families. In 1680 a royal declaration forbade Romanists to embrace the Reformed religion under penalty of the galleys for life. An edict of 1681 allowed children to abjure at the age of seven years; and if a child of that age could be induced to enter a church, to kiss an image of the Virgin, or to make the sign of the cross, any of these acts was sufficient to justify the taking the child from its parent, and compelling them to make allowance for its maintenance proportionate to their supposed ability. In the same year, 1681, began the Dragonnades, which meant the quartering of soldiers upon the Protestants, with an unlimited licence to plunder and oppress them; and to this treatment all the provinces of the kingdom were, in turn, subjected. At last, in October, 1685, the Edict of Nantes was revoked. By the Edict of Revocation, the temples of the Protestants were directed to be demolished, and the exercise of their worship to cease, as well in private houses as in the castles of the nobles, under pain of confiscation of body and goods. Ministers who refused to be converted, were ordered to quit the kingdom within fifteen days,

[a] Hume's "Hist. of England," vol. viii. pp. 241, 242. London, MDCCLXXXVI.

[b] Burnet, vol. i. p. 583 (cited by Hume), says that the Duke of York, when in Scotland, assisted personally at the torture of criminals; whilst Woodrow mentions only one instance, that of Spreul,—vol. ii. p. 169, vol. iii. p. 253, edit. 1830. See Hume's Hist. of England, vol. viii. pp. 172, 173.

under pain of the galleys. Protestant schools were to be closed;[a] children born after the publication of the edict were to be baptized by a Romish priest, and brought up in the religion of Rome. A period of four months was granted to refugees to return to France and abjure;—that term expired, their property was to be confiscated. All the provisions of the law regarding relapsed heretics were confirmed; and to complete the iniquity of the decree, it was also ordered, under pain of the galleys for men, and imprisonment and confiscation of goods for the women, that no Protestant should quit the kingdom, or carry their goods abroad.[b] Such were the terms of the edict which revoked the Edict of Nantes."

James's proceedings in Ireland, in 1687, bear a great similarity in many points to the above Edict of Revocation: for instance, because the Provost and Fellows of the University of Dublin refused to receive a vicious, ignorant person, a new convert to Popery, into a vacant fellowship, although such reception would have been contrary to their statutes and oaths, Tyrconnel stopped their salaries; and "it was not thought enough, upon King James's arrival, to take away their maintenance, but they were further proceeded against, and the vice-president, fellows, and scholars, all turned out; their furniture, library, and communion-plate seized, and everything that belonged to the college and to the private fellows and scholars taken away. All this was done, notwithstanding that when they waited upon King James, at his first arrival in Dublin, he was pleased to promise them, *that he would preserve them in their liberties and properties, and rather augment than diminish the privileges and immunities that had been granted them by his predecessors.* In the *house* they placed a garrison, and turned the *chapel* into a magazine, and the *chambers* into prisons for the Protestants. One *Moore*, a Popish priest, was made *provost;* one *Mackarty*, also a priest, was made *library-keeper*, and the whole designed for them and their *fraternity*." . . . . "At length things came to that height, after King *James* was in *Ireland*, that most of the churches in and about *Dublin* were seized upon by the Government; and at last, *Lutterell*, governor of *Dublin*,

[a] In James II.'s reign, too, schools were opened; "but it was for this purpose, not of training up Popish youth, but rather of stealing Protestant children, that a Free School, under *A. Pulton*, a Jesuit, was opened at the Savoy, assisted by *Thomas Parker*, another Jesuit."—Compleat Hist. of England, vol. iii. p. 488, edit. 1719. Just the same scheme is in operation now! Every one knows how common is the invitation to attend such and such a school, where *no difference is made*, it is affirmed, and the religion of the children is not interfered with. *Semper eadem Roma!*

[b] See Bishop Burnet's "Account of his own Times," iii. 80, 81, ed. Oxford, 1833.

issued out his order, *forbidding more than five* Protestants *to meet together, under pain of death.* Being asked, whether this was designed to hinder meeting in churches?—he answered, it was designed to hinder their meeting there, as well as in other places: and accordingly the churches were shut up, and all religious assemblies through the whole kingdom forbidden under pain of death."[a]

"But to give a decisive blow, there was an *Act of Attainder* pass'd in Parliament; in order to which every member of the House of Commons returned the names of all such Protestant gentlemen as lived near them, or in the county or borough for which he served; and if he was a stranger to any of them, he sent to the country for information about them. When this *Bill* was presented to the King, for his *assent*, the Speaker of the Commons told him, *That many were attainted in that Act, upon such evidence as satisfy'd the House;* and the rest upon common fame."

"In this *Act* there were no fewer attainted than two *Archbishops*, one *Duke*, seventeen *Earls*, seven *Countesses*, twenty-eight *Viscounts*, two *Viscountesses*, seven Bishops, eighteen Barons, thirty-three Baronets, fifty-one *Knights*, eighty-three Clergymen, two thousand one hundred eighty-two Esquires and Gentlemen; and all of them (unheard) *declared and adjudged traytors, convicted and attainted of High Treason, and adjudged to suffer the pains of Death and Forfeiture. The famous Proscription of Rome*, during the last Triumvirate, came not up, in some respects, to the horror of this; for there were condemn'd in this little Kingdom more than double the number that were *proscribed* through the vast bounds of the *Roman* Empire. And to make this in *Ireland* yet the more terrible, and to put the persons attainted out of a possibility of escaping, the *Act* itself was conceal'd, and no Protestant allowed a copy of it till four months after it was passed. Whereas in that of *Rome*, the names of the persons *proscribed* were affixed upon all the publick places of the city, the very day the *Proscription* was concerted; and thereby opportunity was given to many of the noblest families in *Rome* to preserve themselves by a speedy flight for better times."[b] In England, too, matters were fast approaching to the same state. Dr. Peachey, the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, for refusing to break his oath by admitting one Alban Francis, a Benedictine Monk, to the degree of M.A. without taking the oaths prescribed,

[a] Dr. King, cited in the "Compleat History of England," vol. iii. pp. 474, 475, edit. 1719.
[b] Ibid. p. 475.

was deprived of his office of Vice-Chancellor and suspended "*ab officio et beneficio* of his headship of Magdalen College!"[a] The infamous treatment of the Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, because they refused to perjure themselves, by electing as their president a man of such infamous character that even his own party were ashamed of him and gave him up.[b] The Fellows of Magdalen, however, were to be punished, and, because they would not consent to forego their oaths, were finally expelled. "After the expulsion of the Fellows, most of the *Demies* were likewise turned out of Magdalen College by the Bishop of *Oxford* and Mr. *Charnock*, his Vice-President, and *Roman Catholicks* put in their places. To acknowledge the King's favours, the Bishop of Oxford publish'd a book containing Reasons for abrogating the *Test* and *Penal Laws*, and his Majesty commanded the *Stationers* not to print any answer to the same."[c] The object of all the King's ostentatious display, or rather *talk*, of *Toleration*, must by this time be apparent to every one capable of drawing a conclusion from *facts*. How beautifully is the spirit of "*toleration*," and a respect for "*tender consciences*," shown by the attempt to *compel* men of education to *perjure* themselves, and then visiting with the heaviest punishments in his power those noble-minded men who chose, at all risks, to "obey God rather than man."

The atrocious Act of Attainder, passed in the Parliament of Ireland, has already been noticed; but we must not forget that the above Act was preceded by a repeal of the Act of Settlement.

"This iniquitous Bill," says Smollett, "was framed in such a manner, that no regard was paid to such Protestant owners as had purchased their estates for valuable consideration: no allowance was made for improvements, nor any provision for Protestant widows: the possessor and tenants were not even allowed to remove their stock and corn. When the Bill was sent up to the Lords, Dr. Dopping, Bishop of Meath, opposed it with equal courage and ability; and an address on behalf of the purchasers under the Act of Settlement was presented to the King by the Earl of Granard; but, notwithstanding these remonstrances, it received the Royal Assent; and the Protestants of Ireland were mostly ruined."[d]

Dr. Milner, when he referred to James's celebrated "Declaration" as a proof of his love for "Liberty of Conscience,"

[a] Ibid. p. 475. [b] Ibid. p. 477. [c] Ibid. p. 481.
[d] Smollett's Continuation of Hume's "History of England," vol. i. p. 45. Lond. MDCCLXXXVIII.

must have supposed that the people of England, of the present day, are totally unacquainted with the history of by-gone days. Our forefathers were not so easily deceived. "Not only the Church of *England* men were abundantly satisfied that the King's *Declaration of Indulgence* was to prepare the way to *Popery*, but the very Dissenters themselves began to be convinced that this alone was the design of it. Nay, the King himself was now conscious that his Protestant subjects generally understood his meaning, and expected no liberty, either to the Church or to separate congregations, any longer than till the Papists were able to exercise their full and absolute will and power. To take away this jealousy of the people, the King repeated and confirmed his former Declaration in a manner that did but increase the fears of Popery."[a] So far Dr. Milner may be right when he assigns the said "Declaration" as a cause of James's loss of the throne; but then it was not on account of the king's love of toleration expressed in that document; it was because the people fully understood that the said "Declaration" was merely a delusion, and put forth simply to render the introduction of Popery more easy. That the people of England were correct in their estimate of this specious document, the king's conduct in Ireland fully proved; indeed, a letter was found in the pocket of Viscount Dundee, who fell in the battle of Killicrankie, signed by Melfort, James's "most trusted minister, to tell him 'that a declaration of indemnity and toleration, then preparing, was couched in such terms that James could break through it when he pleased.'" Upon another occasion, in 1693, Lord Middleton obtained his [James's] consent "to have a *Declaration* issued containing an entire amnesty and ample promises of consenting to every measure which Parliament mighty carry, for the security of the court and religious liberty of the kingdom. But it was too late; the previous Declaration had made too great an impression on men's minds to be so easily effaced. It was not doubted that he had spoken his real feelings, and if so, this could not be sincere (*we know now, that at the very time that it was issued,* Melfort wrote to the minister of the Pope that it was meant as a delusion), and accordingly it gained over no one in England, while it disgusted his adherents in Ireland, who looked upon it as an open desertion of them."[b] Could James have read such a defence of his character and conduct as that set up for him by Dr. Milner, especially so far as it is grounded on his celebrated Declaration, if he were really the kind-hearted

[a] Compleat History of England, vol. iii. p. 481. London, 1706.
[b] London Quarterly Review, Jan. 1856, pp. 250, 255.

man Dr. Milner would have us believe him to be, his rebuke of the writer might have extended no further than this: "If an enemy had done this, I could have borne it." For, most assuredly, no one can read the account of James's proceedings, either in England, Scotland, or Ireland, without coming to the conclusion that the much-vaunted Declaration was of about the same value as the money which King James caused to be coined in Ireland "for his majesty's occasions." [a] Let us not be told that he was influenced in his conduct by evil counsellors, and that he really intended to act up to this "*Declaration;*" for such a defence only serves to shift, as before noticed, the guilt of his intolerant proceedings from the *king* to the *religion* he professed. Could any proof be adduced of the rectitude of King James's intentions, so much the worse for Popery! Had the power of Rome become dominant in England during the reign of James, and had the king appealed to his "Declaration" in behalf of his Protestant subjects, he would have been told by the Romish bishops of England (as the Romish bishops of Belgium told their sovereign, in 1815): "We do not hesitate to declare to your majesty, that the *canonical laws*, which are sanctioned by the ancient constitutions of the country, are inconsistent with the *Declaration* which would give to *England* equal favour and protection to all religions." [b]

[a] "The king's old stores were ransacked, the shops of tradesmen and the kitchens of burghers were pillaged to supply the mint with a quantity of brass, which was converted into current coin for his Majesty's occasions; *an arbitrary value was set upon it*, and all persons were required and commanded to take it in payment, under the severest penalties, though the proportion between its intrinsic worth and currency was nearly as *one* to *three hundred*. A vast sum of this counterfeit coin was issued in the course of one year, *and forced upon the Protestants* in payment of merchandise, provisions, and necessaries for the king's service." * * * * * * * * "Understanding that the Protestants had laid out all their brass money in purchasing great quantities of hides, tallow, wood, and corn, he assumed the despotic power of fixing the prices of these commodities, and then bought them for his own use."—Smollett's Continuation of Hume's History of England, vol. i. p. 47, edit. 1788.

[b] See Annual Register, 1815, p. 399. In the text, "Declaration" is substituted for "projected constitution," and "England" for "Belgium."

No. XVI.

THE REV. J. GARBETT'S LETTER TO DR. MILNER.

Erroneous Statement and Incorrect Quotations affecting the character of certain eminent Divines of the Church of England, viz., Archbishops Usher, Laud, and Wake; Bishops King, Hallifax, [Gordon,] Goodman, Cheyney, Shipley, Juxon, Potter, Douglas (his "Criterion" and Jesuit Missions), and Tomlin.—Charge that the National Church is a prey to Socinianism.—On the Athanasian Creed.—The Non-Jurors.—That the Clergy preach in Churches in the Morning, and in the Meeting-houses in the Evening.

THOUGH we do not undertake to defend or justify all that may be written or said by or of the divines, either of the Established Church, or of that of our Dissenting brethren, we nevertheless think that the following examination of Dr. Milner's perversions will not be considered unimportant, as showing how little credit can be given to Dr. Milner's assertions.

The present article is a transcript of a letter addressed, in March, 1826, to Dr. Milner, by the REV. JOHN GARBETT, M.A., Vicar of Harborne, Staffordshire, Honorary Canon of Worcester, and formerly Rector of St. George's and Rural Dean, Birmingham. It is with the kind permission of Mr. Garbett that we present our readers with this admirable Letter. The whole of it is so excellent that we give it unabridged.

In the 33rd Letter, p. 331, Dr. Milner writes—"We must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, to be examined in our observance of that commandment, among the rest, *Thou shalt not* bear false *witness against thy neighbour.*"

Mr. Garbett selects this passage as his motto. We cannot envy the feelings of one who could so quote Scripture, while himself transgressing the moral precept and command of the Lord thus referred to by himself.

RIGHT REVEREND SIR,—It is an old complaint against controversial writers, that they often sacrifice truth to party zeal, and appear more intent upon acquiring a conquest over their adversaries, than upon preserving accuracy in their statements, and fidelity in the use of their authorities.

Few modern works have been deemed more deservedly obnoxious to accusations of this kind than your book, entitled "The End of Religious Controversy," which, in the *fifth edition,* has recently fallen into my hands. Presuming,

from the circumstances under which it was composed, and from the popular form of its publication, that it was especially designed to produce an effect upon general readers—conscious, also, that the proposed effect has, in no inconsiderable degree, resulted from it—I am induced to trouble you with a few remarks upon certain statements contained therein, affecting the reputation of eminent members of the Church of England, and which do not appear to have attracted the attention of those by whom many other of your mis-statements have been animadverted upon and exposed. My motive in addressing you óriginates with the conviction, that not a few defer to your seeming erudition, and are entangled by your ingenuity of reasoning, who want either the qualifications or disposition to enter into an inquiry, the result of which, I affirm, without a moment's hesitation, would discover to them that your main assumptions are derived from presumed facts, many of which are more than doubtful, and many destitute of foundation, and sustained by arguments often inconsequential in themselves, not seldom equally conclusive against the Church of Rome, and generally either irrelevant or powerless in respect to the objects against which they are levelled.

For the furtherance of your purpose,—the exaltation of the Roman Catholic upon the ruins of the Protestant community,—you trace, with partial eye, the page of history, enlarging upon every incident, and renewing every trite objection which has a tendency, however remote, to dishonour the doctrine, discipline, and practice of the Reformed Churches. When, therefore, in your researches you meet with any tale injurious to Protestants, you revive it in its most offensive form, be the authority ever so vague, or the confutation ever so decisive; and when different details of an allowed narrative present themselves, you invariably adopt, and not uncommonly exaggerate, that which is the most disgraceful to the objects of your dislike; that which may best expose the mere natural infirmities of which we all partake, and of which those who are most sensible will ever judge with the most moderation and forbearance.

Demanding that the members of your own religion should be viewed with candour and allowance,—to which I cheerfully accede their claims,—you estimate Protestants by a criterion which nothing less than perfect virtue can sustain. Thus, complaining of illiberality in the advocates and writers of the Reformed communities, you feel no reluctance in branding our ablest and most pious divines as liars and hypocrites, asserting what they do not believe, for the sake of temporal

advantage, and maintaining intentional falsehood by the detestable engines of fraud and persecution. The divisions amongst us you expatiate upon more than is consistent with ingenuousness; whilst you cast a veil over the direful and sanguinary contentions of the Church of Rome. You narrate, in high-wrought terms, the sad effects which you suppose the Reformation to have produced, and the profaneness and immorality which obtain in countries subject to its influence; but you maintain a cautious silence upon the vice and wickedness, upon the deep and awful ignorance which prevailed for ages before, and with invectives against which the pages of your ablest writer abound; and you glide over the notorious infidelity and vice, the debasing slavery of mind and body, which yet reign in countries beneath the Papal dominion, and the most intensely in those nations which are most devoted to its sway. You ruminate, with unrestrained delight, upon every moral obliquity which appears in the lives of the Reformers, though conscious that a similar mode of arguing will uncanonize the holiest martyrs of the Christian calendar; but you suppress the horridly wicked characters of the Popes and their satellites; and the iniquities which, for many ages, rendered the city and see of Rome so foul a nest of sensual abomination, as to impress upon the minds of not a few of her faithful members an enforced conviction of her identity with the mystical Babylon of the Apocalypse.

In the same unequal spirit, you constantly adduce the excellences (which I should blush to disown or depreciate) of many who have lived and died in your communion: you dwell, with commendable pleasure, upon their edifying departure from the turbulent and harassed stage of life; and adduce it as an argument perfectly unanswerable of the superior influence of your religion in that trying and all-important moment which you, somewhat rashly, assume as invariably setting the seal to sincerity:—but, on the other hand, you take not the slightest notice of numbers of holy Protestants, who yielded, with glowing joy, their departing spirits into the hands of a merciful Redeemer, after a life too brightly exemplifying the influence of His faith upon the mind, to originate a doubt of the principle from whence it flowed, or of its assured acceptance with Him, "unto whom all hearts are open."

The holy zeal, the sacrifice of earthly good, the scorn of deliverance at the price of conscience, which marked the cruel death of thousands whom the insatiate vengeance of the Roman hierarchy hurried to the flames, elicit no meed of

approbation from your pen, excite no sentence of reprobation towards their ferocious persecutors, and appear to kindle in your mind no warmer emotion than that of contemptuous scorn for the darkness of fanatical delusion.

In animadverting upon the Church of England, truth forces from you the cold admission, that "she has better pretensions to unity, and the other marks of the Church, than any other Protestant society has" (Letter xv. p. 182[a]); and conscious that her doctrine, discipline, and formulas—grounded upon, and strictly reduced to, the rule of the apostolical and primitive ages—afford an invincible reply to every argument not levelled at the purest era of the Christian annals, you attempt to wound her partly through the sides of individual members, as though your own community were insusceptible of private error; and partly, by alleging the opinions of parties who have seceded from her, as though a government were accountable for the proceedings of revolted subjects. Whilst, at one moment, you represent her as a bigoted and persecuting sect; at another, you exhibit her as so loose and careless in her notions, as to allow and sanction every adverse tenet, inclusive even of the wide extremes of Antinomianism and infidelity;—and her clergy you describe as a body of clashing inconsistency with the doctrines of their Church; but for the most part, as the more odious opposition to their engagements, involved in the guilt of the Socinian heresy.

It is obvious, from the limits of the letter now addressed to you, that no discussion is intended upon so wide a field as even a small portion of the topics above alluded to would necessarily open to the controvertist. I allude to them merely to warn the incautious and uninformed reader, not hastily to infer that your statements are so trustworthy and your arguments so conclusive as the plausibility of your terms, and the boldness of your allegations, may, at first, lead him to imagine. A few examples, too, of your peculiar mode of statement and quotation, may tend to cast light upon the validity of certain positions of your book, and place him upon his guard with respect to others. He will, perhaps, be led to perceive that you have, not seldom, relied upon the ignorance of those into whose hands your work would fall; and inferred, with at least as much acumen as integrity, that it would be no unsafe basis whereon to build, in an age when theological research appears almost out of

[a] These references are altered so as to apply to the same edition as before quoted by us.

taste, and when fearlessness of assertion becomes identified with truth.

It is but a small part of your references, the correctness of which I have attempted to ascertain; but the truth compels me to state, that in the majority of instances which I have collated, your readers have just cause to complain of unfairness and partiality. During the whole period of your controversial career, accusations of literary disingenuousness have been levelled against you by your opponents, Roman Catholic as well as Protestant; and epithets have been applied to characterize your probity and candour, of which, although I should be unwilling to adopt them, it would be improper to blame their application, for it would be difficult to confute their justice.[a]

Allow me to repeat, that the popularity your book has acquired, and the importance thus derived to its positions, are the motive for troubling yourself and the world with these remarks, dictated by no unkind feeling towards you or any member of your Church, but simply by a desire to aid the cause of truth, and do to justice to the violated memory of piety and learning.

Lest, however, it may be supposed, that to attacks upon individual character, and to historical incident, your injustice is confined; and that your doctrinal assertions remain invulnerable; it must be added, that many of your interpretations of Scripture are strained and far-fetched; your mode of quoting that and the Fathers, partial and perverse; your statement of Protestant tenets, often erroneous and unjust; and, in brief, your account of persons and transactions, generally at variance with the fact. For the truth of parts of this assertion, an appeal may be made, with safety, to the pages of those who have already encountered you; and it would not require much leisure or research to make good the whole.

Reflecting upon the severe and bitter spirit in which your volume is composed, it is impossible not to feel perpetually hurt and indignant in the perusal of it. Trusting that I have imbibed no portion of its temper, and cheerfully rendering to your learning and talents the deference to which they are entitled, and to your station every respect which it can claim, it will be a subject of sincere regret if my pen shall be found to have given utterance to any rashness of expression indecorous towards you, and as such, unbecoming to myself. Whatever may be thought of the course you have adopted, as most serviceable to the *Roman* End of Con-

[a] See Prot. Guardian, 1828, p. 345.

troversy, I hope not to forget that these lines are addressed to a scholar, a divine, and a prelate of the Church of Christ, though of what I must deem its most corrupted branch.

I. Permit me, then, in the first place, to recall your attention to a passage, which has recently been brought before the public in several ways, and which forms a note in Letter ix. p. 124 of your book.

"Some bishops of the Established Church, for instance, Goodman and Cheyney, of Gloucester; and Gordon, of Glasgow; probably also King, of London; and Hallifax, of St. Asaph, died Catholics."

As it is with reference to the two last-named prelates that the passage is especially quoted, I will postpone to them a few observations which occur upon the three first.

The report you have revived against *King, Bishop of London*, is an ancient and long-suppressed calumny, fabricated in the hotbed of Papal sedition at Douay,[a] and transplanted into England, where, as is known to no one better than yourself, it received, immediately upon its importation, the most satisfactory and decisive contradiction. It was promptly and circumstantially denied by his own son, Henry King, afterwards Bishop of Chichester, in a discourse at St. Paul's Cross. The denial was echoed, in very strong and indignant terms, within two years of the calumniated prelate's decease, by the eminent Bishop Hall, then Dean of Worcester, in a sermon before the Convocation, wherein he appeals to his own personal knowledge, and that of many whom he addressed.[b] The whole circumstances of the refutation are likewise formally detailed by another contemporary prelate, Dr. Godwin, who occupied the see of Hereford at the time, and was on close terms of friendship with Bishop King. The actual evidence *against the statement* is that of Archbishop Abbot and three other bishops, Morton, Lake, and Felton, who regularly visited him in his last illness; of his household, who attended him; of his chaplain, who administered

[a] ["But of all foule mouths that have slaundered that blessed soul, he that wrote the *Bp. of London's Legacie*, is the most shameful and slaunderous lier. In the year 1622, when he first divulged this libell, he made the worthy bishop to speak those silly motives, which his worthy self had devised.—And then, in 1623, he made a new publication of the same work, changing only the title-leaf and the preface to the reader; and whereas, throughout the whole book, he maketh the bp. speak what himself had forged; he now giveth his reader leave, with his full consent and allowance, to suppose all these passages to be *fictiones personarum*, and warranted by the figure Prosopopeia."—See more in Mason's "New Art of Lying, covered by Jesuites under the veil of Equivocation," London, 1624, pp. 64, 66; and also "A Sermon at Paul's Cross on a Scandalous Report that the late Bishop of London was reconciled to the Church of Rome," by H. King, his eldest Son; 4to. London, 1621.]

[b] See his sermon "Columba Noæ."

to him the Holy Eucharist ("the last bread," says Bishop Hall, "that ever he received in this world, even the bread of the Lord"); and of his family, who, with Sir Henry Martin and other friends, participated with him in the blessed memorials of his Redeemer's sacrifice. And, if this Protestant evidence may not suffice to counterbalance an anonymous Popish story from Flanders, we have also the testimony of Preston, the very Roman priest who was said to have reconciled him to the Church; but who made oath, first before the primate, and afterwards before two lay privy councillors, that he had never spoken to, corresponded with, or even seen the deceased prelate.

With the whole of this, sir, you are well acquainted, for Bishop Godwin's book is quoted in your volume. Yet thus condescending to revive this confuted falsehood, you cannot be displeased if I repeat the forcible axiom of Bishop Hall on the occasion, "*Veritas non est, quæ mendaciorum fulcris indiget:*"—and if I call to your memory the closing observations of the former bishop. The language of both these divines is certainly strong: not stronger than the case deserved; not so strong as your own style upon much slighter occasions. Solicitous as we are, in this age of refinement, to qualify truth by inoffensive phraseology, let, at least, convicted slander retain its proper designation. Both prelates would deem their language as applicable to the reviver as the original inventor of the story.

"It might seem," says Bishop Godwin, "to be now an ordinance of the Papal religion, and a Catholic doctrine, to calumniate boldly, that something, at least, may stick. * * We leave such aids to the votaries of falsehood. It behoves the followers of truth to cultivate sincerity. I wonder not at their anxiety to enrol amongst them a man eminent for his learning, piety, extraordinary eloquence, and assiduity in preaching. But, ever abhorring Popish superstitions, from early youth to his latest breath, and certainly altogether ours, he died on that day which the Church consecrates to the Passion of our Lord, as he had lived, so piously in Christ, that I pray it may be my lot so to live and so to die."[a]

II. To the equally unfounded accusation against Bishop Hallifax, it seems scarcely necessary to say much, since the recent appearance of the late Dr. Samuel Parr's Letter on the subject. Unwilling to weaken the force of this appeal, addressed as well to the sincerity of your religious profession, as to your moral probity and love of truth; and the manly

[a] De Præsulibus (Richardson's), p. 195.

firmness of which is powerfully contrasted with the shrinking evasiveness and sophistry of your reply;—I will but make a few brief remarks on the correspondence between yourself and the bishop's son, judiciously annexed to Dr. Parr's tract by its respectable editor.

Mr. Hallifax having requested you to name your authority for the assertion that his Father died a Papist, you inform him, in reply, that you relied on the testimony of a "certain Catholic," since deceased, who had access to the bishop in his illness; and, as if conscious that your tale was perfectly untenable,—yet, as you say of your opponents, "wanting the rare grace of acknowledging error" (Letter xxxii. p. 330), you add, "I spoke of the fact barely as *probable*."—This is not strictly the case. For though, in the first instance, the calumny is qualified with a "probably," you introduce it, a second time, as resting "*on good authority*" (p. 329); and finally discuss it, a third time, as *an indubitable fact*. For, in making the illiberal assertion, "that you have sufficient reason to affirm," that Protestant writers "do not really believe what they declare," you bring forward, amongst others, "a late Warburtonian Lecturer," Bishop Hallifax, "lamenting on his death-bed that he could not return" to the Pope (Letter xlv. pp. 432, 433).

That Mr. Hallifax should deem your reply unsatisfactory will surprise no one who reads it. In another letter, therefore, as moderate and respectful as the first, he entreats you to acquaint him with the name of your informant, at what place, and when he had access to the bishop, &c. To this communication *you gave no reply*. You have, however, recently designated it as a "fishing letter." Contemptible! Is it "fishing" for a son to entreat the name of one who he believes has calumniated his father's memory? Is it "fishing" to ask a prelate of the Church of Christ, who loudly proclaims himself the advocate of truth, to assist him in ascertaining the veracity of an important fact? It does not appear why you should hesitate to reply, conscious that silence admits but of one interpretation. If your informant spake true, the incident carries no discredit to him, however dishonourable to Dr. Hallifax. If false, you ought not to desire that your name should be the instrument, on the one side, of handing down a slander from generation to generation; and enumerated, on the other, amongst the many who, by universal admission, have sustained the papal cause by forgery and defamation. What, sir, is your own vehement language against many Protestants, whose offence, if guilty, is trivial compared to this? And to what amounts your declaration,

that "you should despise yourself if you knowingly published any falsehood, or hesitated to retract any one that you were proved to have fallen into?" (p. 30, in Address, note).

In one part of your book you remark, that "Wilful infidelity and heresy involve greater guilt than moral frailty" (Letter xviii. p. 178). The truth of this proposition few, I presume, will question; though the humble mind will hesitate to decide what obliquities of faith may appear to the Omniscient Judge voluntary or involuntary;—being content meanwhile to maintain, that actual disbelief is manifested as well in rejecting a portion of God's revealed word, as in renouncing the whole. There is, then, one important axiom of Holy Writ, so little obnoxious to dispute or sophistry, that the violation of it appears unquestionably to involve the sin of WILFUL infidelity. It is this—"HE SHALL NOT REST UPON GOD'S HOLY HILL, WHO SLANDERETH HIS NEIGHBOUR," and "MAKETH OR LOVETH A LIE."

III. Of the three other prelates, Goodman, Cheyney, and Gordon, who are said to have "died Catholics," the correctness of the assertion is of less importance; I believe the statement to be true of the first alone. Of Gordon, Archbishop of Glasgow, it does not appear why you should name him among the prelates of the Established Church.

To such a convert as Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, the Church of Rome is fully welcome. The sole apology for his conduct must be found in his admitted weakness of intellect. When you say he "died" a Romanist, you express the least important part of the fact. He lived in the Church of England Papist in heart; and, as such, enjoyed, without compunction, her dignities and emoluments. At a time when, from his more than suspected principles, he had well nigh incurred a penalty of deposition, "he took the oath enjoined in the sixth canon, for preserving the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England against all Popish doctrines which were thereunto repugnant."[a] Under this, he conformed as long as the Establishment had wealth and honour to bestow; but when her inveterate foes had accomplished her destruction, he threw off the mask of hypocrisy and equivocation; and died avowedly, as he had lived secretly, a Roman Catholic. "A scandal so unreasonably given," says the testy Dr. Heylin, "as if the devil himself had watched an opportunity to despite this Church."

Allow me to direct your attention to the observations of certain contemporary writers upon this circumstance; the

[a] Heylin's "Life of Archbishop Laud," p. 446.

two latter of which will be found to convey a direct denial of your assertion of the apostasy of the other English prelates.

Walker speaks of Bishop Goodman as "one of those weak minds whom the vile and detestable practices of the Puritans had scandalized into Popery."[a] Now it is very true, that the frantic excesses of that distracted age made Papists of some, and infidels of more. But this author is not happy in selecting the apostate Bishop of Gloucester as an illustration of the fact; for Goodman had been long a Romanist in principle. The remarks of Fuller, who was upon terms of intimacy with him, are more worthy of notice. "The adversaries of our hierarchy," says this writer, "have no cause to triumph thereat, who slanderously charge Popish compliance on all his order; being able to produce, of two hundred bishops since Queen Elizabeth, but THIS ONLY INSTANCE, and him a person of no great eminence."[b] "It is no scandal to the Church of England," says Bishop Kennett, "that this man was the only bishop who made his addresses to Cromwell, and dedicated a book to 'his Excellence,' with flattery and a servile petition 'for hearing his cause, and doing justice' to him. It is further remarkable, that as he was the ONLY apostate bishop of our Church since the Reformation, so he was the only one who left children to beg their bread. I saw the example at my own doors."[c]

IV. The two latter quotations include a direct denial of the apostasy (not only of Bishop King, but also) of Bishop Cheyney; which rests, in the main, on the suspicious evidence of this same Goodman, who was his successor in the see of Gloucester. That Cheyney was a consistent member of the Church of England cannot, perhaps, be affirmed; but that he died a Papist is adverse to the testimony of the learned Camden, and of Bishop Godwin; authorities in every respect superior to Goodman. Both these writers characterize Cheyney as "too much a Lutheran;" and this explains his conduct in Queen Mary's days, when, being Archdeacon of Hereford, he powerfully argued against transubstantiation, yet readily assented to the belief of the corporal presence. It is unnecessary to observe upon the consistency of this conduct with the Lutheran notion of the Eucharist, and its irreconcilableness with the Romish tenet.

V. I proceed to another act of injustice against an English Bishop, Dr. Shipley, whom you place "in the first rank of

[a] Sufferings of the Clergy, p. ii. p. 83.
[b] Worthies of England (Denbighshire).
[c] Life of Charles II. in the "Complete History of England," vol. iii. p. 215.

complete Socinianism" (Letter xv. p. 185). This accusation you have condescended to borrow from a Unitarian writer, Mr. Belsham; heedless of the positive contradiction given to it by the Bishop of Calcutta, Dr. Heber, who, from his alliance with the family of Dr. Shipley, must be well acquainted with his opinions, and who, upon the authority of his son, the Dean of St. Asaph, the father of Mrs. Heber, denied the imputation which you maintain. The following is Bishop Heber's reply to Mr. Belsham's statement.

"On what evidence it is that he ascribes a dissembling of their faith to men of unblemished character, whose writings, doubtless, may be searched in vain for anything on which to found the charge of heresy, he has not deigned to let us know. For Bishop Shipley, whose memory I respect at least as much as Mr. Belsham can, and whose private sentiments I have better means of knowing than Mr. Belsham can possibly possess, I can answer, on the authority of his son, that the *charge is as false as it is injurious*. Had Dr. Shipley's faith been inconsistent with that of the Church to which he belonged, those who know his utter disregard of worldly interest, and his characteristic frankness, know that he would not have retained his preferments a single hour. In truth, however, his daily devotions and his confidential intercourse were in perfect consonance with his public professions. . . . Mr. Belsham," concludes his lordship, "might have known all this, *had he thought it worth his while to be accurate*." [a]

VI. I have next to animadvert upon your injustice towards a more illustrious character than either of the preceding, Archbishop Usher; in common with his brethren, Juxon, Bishop of London; Morton, of Durham; and Potter, of Carlisle; for these are the "three other Anglican bishops" referred to in the following passage:—

"The enemies of Church and State, having hunted down the Earl of Strafford, and procured him to be attainted of high treason, the king, Charles I., declared *that he could not, in conscience, concur to his death;* when the case being referred to the archbishops, Usher and Williams, and three other Anglican bishops, they decided (in spite of his majesty's conscience, and his oath to administer justice in mercy) that he might, *in conscience, send an innocent man to the block,* which he did, accordingly, in the person of Strafford."—(Letter xlviii. p. 461.)

For this narrative you refer to Collier's Church History, vol. ii. p. 801, who certainly relates something of the kind;

[a] Bampton Lectures; notes to Lecture II.

but first expressly acquits Juxon, one of the "three;" and in the very next paragraph, gives a different account of the whole business, which account harmonizes with that of Usher himself; but of which you, of course, take no notice.

It would be idle to appeal to your sense of impartiality in stating, after due improvement, a narrative which stands in direct opposition to accounts pointed out and abstracted in the self-same page where you met with it. Not that, as in the preceding and too many other cases, you have no respectable authority for the story; but that authority labours under so many difficulties, and is so opposed by other and more credible testimony, that no candid writer would have adopted it in the peremptory manner in which it is given by you. There are three conflicting statements of this transaction, resting upon the respective evidence of Bishop Hacket, Lord Clarendon, and Archbishop Usher himself. The first account of Collier, which you profess to receive, is derived from the former of these distinguished witnesses; and as the book in which it occurs is not very common, I will here transcribe the passage.

Having mentioned the proceedings in Parliament, the outrages of the people, the advice of the Privy Council, the formation of a conspiracy for the private assassination of Strafford, in case the royal assent to the execution was withheld, and the memorable letter of the noble culprit to the king, Dr. Hacket proceeds thus:—

"It being, therefore, to no purpose to dispute what was the best remedy to save this lord, when there was none at all, the House of Lords nominate four prelates to go to his Majesty, to propound how the tenderness of his conscience might safely wade through this insuperable difficulty. These were Lord Primate Usher, with the Bishops Morton, Williams, Potter. There was none of these four but would have gone through fire and water, as we say, to save the party; which being now a thing beyond wit and power, they state the question thus to the king (sure I am of the truth, because I had it from the three former). Whether, as his Majesty refers his own judgment to his judges, in whose person they act, in Court of Oyer, King's Bench, Assize, and in cause of life and death, and it lies on them if an innocent man suffer; —so why may not his Majesty satisfy his conscience in the present matter, that, since competent judges in law had awarded that they found guilt of treason in the earl, he may suffer that judgment to stand, though in his private mind he was not satisfied that the Lord Strafford was criminous, for that juggling and corrupt dealing which he suspected in

the proofs at the trial; and let the blame lie upon them who sat upon the tribunal of life and death? The four bishops were all for the affirmative." [a]

This account differs importantly from your version of it. It is, however, sufficiently unfavourable to the prelates concerned. But, in the first place, it does not coincide with Lord Clarendon's statement of the business, who, Williams excepted, implicates the bishops no farther than by suggesting that they did not fortify the conscience of the king with so much confidence as he thought political regard to the delicate situation of their order required. Secondly, the above narrative contradicts a twofold statement of Archbishop Usher, given, under his own hand, to Dr. Bernard, preacher at Gray's Inn; and, by word of mouth, at the moment of expected dissolution, to his chaplain, Dr. Richard Parr; and corroborated by the explicit evidence of King Charles himself: all which testimonies are noticed by Collier in the same page; but, with characteristic candour, unnoticed by you.

The memory of Bishop Hacket is more venerable for piety and erudition than for deep judgment or extreme accuracy. His work, from which the above is quoted, is one of the most learned and gossiping pieces of biography in the language; and his excessive partiality to the subject of it, his patron and benefactor, gives to every character and event in it that kind of colouring which it may have been the desire of so profound a politician as Archbishop Williams that it should bear, and whose conduct is placed by his grateful biographer in a light different from that in which it appears to other writers, to whom, at least, he was less confidently known.

Respectable, then, as is the name of Hacket, no one will venture to exalt his authority above that of Usher, especially in a case where the latter was the party present. The aged biographer probably retained no very perfect recollection of the details of an interview, the importance of which must have been but slight in his mind, when compared with the convulsions which so soon burst forth, and terminated only in the destruction of Church and State. When he published the "Life of Williams," sixteen years had elapsed, and he was rapidly advancing to the eightieth year of his age. He candidly tells us also, that he did not write down at the time the events of those two years, in the earlier part of which this incident occurred; and he had been sufficiently harassed to render an imperfect recollection of it more than

[a] Life of Archbishop Williams, p. ii. p. 161.

venial. That his statement is incorrect in some points, there is internal evidence. He says, the "*House of Lords nominated these prelates to go to* the king;" whereas it appears the king *sent for them, by advice of the council and judges.* He says "FOUR" bishops only were consulted; whereas we know there were FIVE, the name of Juxon having escaped his memory.

Your friend Mr. Charles Butler has said, with justice, that "a fairer, a more learned, or a more honourable name than that of Archbishop Usher the Church of England cannot produce."[a] I account, sir, my pen not slightly honoured in the endeavour to rescue from obloquy this exalted name. Strong must be the evidence to convict such a man of the Jesuitical casuistry which your statement conveys. There is, as I lately observed, a twofold contradiction, delivered by the primate to his chaplains, Drs. Bernard[b] and Parr, and a corroborating testimony from the king. The latter of these narratives is here subjoined.

Dr. Parr, having spoken of a dangerous illness of the archbishop, and of the edifying manner in which he prepared to close a life of toil and perturbation, tells us:—

"After some other discourse, I then made bold to ask him if he had advised the king to pass the bill against the Earl of Strafford, as it had been reported. To which he replied—'I know there is such a thing *most falsely laid to my charge, for I neither gave nor approved* of any such advice, as that the king should assent to the bill against the earl; but, on the contrary, told his majesty, that if he was satisfied, by what he had heard at his trial, that the earl was not guilty of treason, he ought NOT, IN CONSCIENCE, to consent to his condemnation; and this the king knows well enough, and can clear me, if he pleases.' Nor was my lord primate mistaken in this. For when, not long after, it was told his majesty that the Archbishop of Armagh was dead, he spake to Colonel William Legge and Mr. Kirk, then of his bedchamber (as they were since to his late majesty), to this effect, viz., that 'he was very sorry for it;' together with high expressions of his piety and merits. But when one there present replied that he believed 'he might be so, were it not for his persuading your majesty to the Earl of Strafford's execution.'

[a] Book of the Roman Church, p. 302.

[b] In his Funeral Sermon, p. 106, Dr. Bernard says, that the Archbishop "gave him a charge" to contradict a scandal raised against him, as "if he had made use of a pretended distinction between a personal and a political conscience" to satisfy the king. Yet this "contradicted scandal" is the account which the Roman Catholic historian, Dr. Lingard, chooses to give of the business, excepting Juxon alone from the guilt.—(Hist. of Eng. vol. vi.)

To which the king, in a great passion, replied, that IT WAS FALSE. 'For,' said the king, 'after the bill was passed, the archbishop came to me, with tears in his eyes, saying, 'Oh, sir! what have you done? I fear that this act may prove a great trouble to your conscience, and pray God your majesty may never suffer by the passing of this bill;' or words to that effect."—"This," adds the doctor, "is the substance of two certificates, taken, at divers times, under the hands of these two gentlemen of unquestionable credit, both of which, since they agree in substance, I thought fit to contract into one testimony, which I have inserted here, having the originals by me to produce, if occasion be. And now, I hope, after what has been said to justify my lord primate of this calumny, that no honest or charitable person can believe it. But as for those who are so ill-natured and censorious as to think and speak ill of all men that do not fully comply with their notions and opinions, it is no great matter what they either believe or report."[a]

With respect to Archbishop Williams, the question is perhaps of less importance. It has generally been taken for granted, that he recommended the death of Strafford. Lord Clarendon, for instance, charges him with advising the king in a manner far more worthy of a Jesuitical confessor than of a Protestant divine. This, however, is not asserted by any of the parties present. The only ascertained fact is, that, *at the end of the conference* between the king and the prelates, Williams put a paper into his majesty's hands, which was *supposed* to contain reasons for the execution. If so, it would be an additional proof, if that were wanted, that the opinion of his brethren was adverse to his own. But the archbishop averred to Bishop Hacket, that the paper did not refer to Strafford, but contained a strong dissuasive against passing an Act of still greater importance, which was then before the king, viz., to render the Parliament perpetual, by assenting to which Charles sealed his fate, and, it is said, the same pen confirmed both bills, as it were signing his own death-warrant with that of his unhappy friend.

Of Juxon, it seems to be universally admitted, except by Oldmixon and other violent writers, with whom truth is nothing, and party everything, that he was so far from uniting in such Jesuitical advice, as even to be of opinion that the king, having positively promised Strafford to carry him through his trial with safety,[b] was bound to pardon him,

[a] Life of Usher, p. 61.

[b] In a letter to the earl, only sixteen days before the Bill was signed, Charles thus expresses himself:—"I cannot satisfy myself without assuring you, in

guilty or innocent. At this interview, therefore, says Dr. Usher, "the Bishop of London spake nothing at all." With the royal promise the prelates had no concern. It was not submitted to their judgment. The question proposed to them was simply this,—Whether the king ought or ought not to assent to a Bill of Attainder, which had not only passed both Houses of Parliament, but also received the express sanction of the judges of the land? It does not appear, after all the clamour raised against them, how they could answer other than they did. They left the decision to rest upon a matter of fact of which his majesty could be solely the witness to himself, viz., Whether, having personally attended the trial every day, and knowing the facts on which the attainder rested better than any other person possibly could, he really believed the earl guilty of those deeds which the legal expounders of the law had declared to be treason? that if, in Archbishop Usher's words, "upon hearing of the allegations on either side, he did not conceive him guilty of the crime wherewith he was charged, he could not condemn him."[a] If, then, we are to believe the testimony of this unreproached and irreproachable ornament of the Christian Church, united to the declaration of the king, the calumniated prelates decided, in direct opposition to your assertion, that the king was bound, "in conscience," NOT "to send an innocent man to the block."

The narrative which vindicates Usher, includes of course the vindication of Potter and Morton also. But I cannot allow the last-mentioned name to pass by without noticing the conduct of a late Roman prelate, enrolled by you amongst the beatified spirits of the just: I mean Bishop Challoner, who laboured to revive an old stigma against a man whom the testimony of Izaak Walton pronounces to have been a "pattern of apostolical charity and more than human patience;"[b] but whose profound learning, employed in opposition to Roman corruptions, renders his name, of course, an object of opprobrium.

Having lived to see the eventful fall and restoration of the Church he loved, and of which he was a distinguished ornament; having been reduced from the principality of Durham to a state of actual poverty and want; having sustained, with primitive endurance, the fiery trial of persecution and distress; and hoping, at length, to pass the relics of a long

the midst of your troubles, that, upon the word of a king, you shall not suffer in life, honour, or fortune."—(Strafford's Letters, vol. ii. p. 416.)

[a] Dr. Bernard's Sermon, p. 108.

[b] See this writer's character of Bishop Morton in the "Life of Dr. Donne."

and tumultuous life in pious repose and peace; Bishop Morton was dragged forward, by the unceasing vigilance of Popish slander, at the age of ninety-four, as an authority for the authenticity of the absurd and malignant fable of the Nag's Head consecration; a fable which remains on record as a striking proof of what bigotry can invent, and prejudice believe. The aged bishop replied promptly, with a solemn denial, on oath, of the falsehood imputed to him; which he affirms to be "a most notorious untruth;" adding, "that he always believed that Nag's story to have proceeded from the father of lies." "For," says he, on his death-bed—and his unshaken adherence to the Church in her severe trials gives peculiar interest to his words—'if I had not believed, upon sufficient evidence, that the succession of bishops in the Church of England had been legally derived from the Apostles, I had never entered into that high calling, much less continued in it thus long."[a] Yet, in despite of the venerable bishop's solemn oath and dying words, corroborated by the declaration of lay peers, bishops, &c. does Dr. Challoner, after the lapse of a century and a half, in one of his popular works, renew the charge, accompanied with all the refuted details of the Nag's Head slander.[b] He would have done well to remember the observation of Dr. Barwick upon the whole transaction:—"So little do they consider, that none do more disturb the unity or weaken the faith of the Church, for which they would appear so much concerned, than such as endeavour by fraud or falsehood to support and maintain them."[c]

VII. I have next to notice, in your work, a statement of less importance, but worthy of remark, as tending to illustrate your peculiar mode of citing authorities, and the implicit deference paid to the correctness of his spiritual guides, by your respectable lay advocate, the author of the "Book of the Roman Catholic Church." In a note to page 396 [edit. 1842], you give us this reference:—"See the defence of Bancroft's successor in the See of Canterbury, Dr. Laud, who endeavoured to enforce Auricular Confession, in Heylin's Life of Laud, p. ii. p. 415." This note Mr. Butler copies verbatim in p. 107 of his volume.

Doubtful that Laud, however indiscreet, could have been guilty of such excessive imprudence, and that Heylin, how-

[a] See Archbishop Bramhall's Works, p. 432, and Lindsay's edition Mason's Vindication, &c. (preface, p. xcv.)

[b] "Grounds of the Old Religion."

[c] Life of his brother, Dean Barwick, who was Morton's agent in this business.

ever partial, could have committed the still greater absurdity of defending such attempt, I complied with your direction; and having referred to Heylin's "Life of Laud," I found, as I suspected, the contrary to have been the case. So far is Heylin from "defending" any such attempt,—so far is he even from hinting that Laud endeavoured to "enforce" anything of the kind,—that he treats the imputation with contempt. He allows that the *king, not the archbishop*, had been accused of such a design; and he dismisses the accusation as an unauthorized anonymous calumny. I will quote the passage, and leave it to the reader. It occurs in a defence of Laud against divers allegations of two writers of the day.

"If," says Heylin, "he approved of auricular confession, and wished to introduce it into the Church (as both authors say he did), it is no more than what the Liturgy commends (though we find not the word auricular in it),[a] or what the canons have provided for such as shall be willing to confess themselves. But whereas we are told, by one of our authors, that the king should say, he would 'use force to make it be received, were it not for fear of sedition amongst the people;' yet it is but in one of our authors neither, who hath *no other authority for it but a nameless doctor*." Such is the passage from which you and Mr. Butler inform your readers, that Archbishop Laud "endeavoured to enforce auricular confession;" and that Dr. Heylin "defended" the attempt.

VIII. My next observations are elicited by your use of the name of Archbishop Wake. His correspondence with Dupin has been so often discussed that it seems superfluous to renew the subject; were it not that, although his declarations are too explicit to be misunderstood by any unprejudiced mind, his authority is constantly alleged in direct opposition to his sentiments. Thus, for instance, his opinions were adduced, not long since, by a clergyman of our communion, to sustain the project of a union between the Churches of England and Rome. The inconsistency of this project with the intentions of Archishbop Wake, and with the principles of our own Church have been so forcibly stated by the learned and truly Protestant prelate to whom your volume is addressed,[b] that I should deem it presumption to enlarge farther on the subject than your employment of his name requires. I cannot, however, refrain from expressing an

[a] And surely as little the thing intended by the word.

[b] See Bishop Burgess's "Popery incapable of Union with a Protestant Church," in reply to Rev. S. Wix.

opinion, that of the many theories of improvement with which the world is every day favoured, in some form or other, the practicability of union between the Churches of England and Rome is either one of the most irrational, or one of the most dangerous. Your own testimony is sufficient to satisfy us, that a project of this kind could not be carried into effect without an entire surrender of Christian liberty, and an essential sacrifice of Christian truth, on the part of Protestants. What, then, ought to be expected from the success of such a plan, but a return to that state of spiritual and intellectual darkness, from which the benign hand of Providence mercifully rescued us, through seas of martyred blood? What ought to be anticipated, but a descent from the moral and religious eminence upon which we have been elevated, by the blessings of the Reformation, to that debasing and slavish superstition which still overhangs the countries most devoted to the Roman See?

But to return to Archbishop Wake. In Letter xxxii. pp. 329, 330, you comment upon certain remarks of Bishops Hallifax, Porteus, Watson, Barrington, &c., and coolly and deliberately conclude by pronouncing them, one and all, guilty of wilful and intentional hypocrisy, perjury, falsehood, and slander. You affirm, that they did "not seriously believe" the writings which they gave to the world; but that, knowing the superior purity of the Roman creed, and "wanting the rare grace of acknowledging their error at the expense of temporal advantage, they had no other defence for themselves but in clamour and calumny." As an exemplification of this most unprincipled band, you place the venerable name of Archbishop Wake.

Leaving all this invective, equally gross and rancorous, to carry its own reply, I will not ascribe, as might fairly be done, such unfounded imputations to the operation of similar principles within your own bosom; nor will I ask how you stand justified to God and man, and to the dictates of an enlightened conscience, in calumnious invective against men whose integrity will not lose by comparison with the sincerest members of the Church of Rome. I cannot, however, withhold the offering of fervent gratitude to the Author of all good, that neither our temporal peace, still less our eternal destiny, is consigned to the fiat of erring mortals, blinded by prejudice, and intoxicated by bigotry and passion.

You remark (p. 329, note), that Dr. Wake, "having entered into correspondence with Dr. Dupin, for the purpose of uniting their respective churches together, he assures the Catholic divine, in his last letter to him, as follows:—'In

dogmatibus, prout a te candide proponuntur, non admodum dissentimus; in regimine ecclesiastico minus; in fundamentalibus, sive doctrinam, sive disciplinam spectemus, vix omnino.' " Here, you say, "he acknowledged to Dupin, that there was no fundamental difference between his doctrine and that of Catholics."—(Letter xxxiii. p. 333.)

This, and a subsequent remark of the same kind, is to imply, that the archbishop was as unprincipled as the other prelates and divines with whom his name is conjoined; and that, having passed a laborious life in stemming Popish opinions, with a view to "temporal advantage," and thereby attained the summit of human dignity, he was now ready to be reconciled to a Church, the religion of which, you say, he had "so foully misrepresented:" which "foul misrepresentation," I presume, consisted in tearing away the veil that covered the specious exposition of the deep and crafty Bossuet; in whose steps Roman writers have since deemed it safer to tread, than allow their tenets to be viewed in that primitive grossness by which they so easily extended their empire in ages of simple ignorance and darkness; by which they still retain dominion over the blinded and superstitious populace; and in which they are candidly exhibited by earlier and not less able, though more ingenuous, members of your Church, than it is now deemed prudent to authorize and avow.

Ignorance and prejudice have constantly given a false colouring to the correspondence of our learned primate with Dupin. During the rupture between Pope Clement XI. and the Church of France, which threatened to terminate in the complete secession of the latter from the See of Rome, Dr. Wake, in his zeal for Protestantism, as well as in that spirit of peace which peculiarly marked his character, made an attempt to unite in one communion the Anglican and Gallican Churches. But the very basis of this union was laid in a renunciation of the Pope's dominion by the latter. When you assert that "he acknowledged there was no fundamental difference between his doctrine and that of Catholics," you assert that which (with *your* interpretation of the term "Catholic," and *your* view of "fundamentals") is not warranted by the passage before you. He neither speaks of the doctrines of the Roman Church in general;—nor yet of those of the Gallican Church in the abstract; but *according as they were frankly expounded* by a particular divine, "prout a te candide proponuntur;" and that divine never allowed to be an orthodox expositor of Popish doctrines, but esteemed little better in his day than half a Protestant. The Gallican

Church herself was always accounted the most heretical and refractory daughter of the Roman See. Among her other heterodoxies, for instance, she maintained that the Pope's supremacy is a mere arrangement of ecclesiastical expediency. Yet every consistent Romanist asserts, that this supremacy is not only *jure divino*, but that a denial of it includes a denial of the fundamentals of Christianity. When, then, the archbishop says, that between the liberal exposition of this heterodox expounder of the most heterodox branch of the Romish Church, and his own opinions, there was no "fundamental difference," he makes a statement importantly at variance with that which you derive from his words.

Yet, even for a conclusion thus imperfect, you deem it necessary to garble the archbishop's language. To prove that he was ready to shake hands with Rome, it was certainly more needful than candid to omit the words by which your quotation is immediately preceded; which sufficiently evince what kind of union he contemplated. "I had believed," says his grace to Dupin, "that the time was arrived, in which, having *shaken off the yoke of Roman tyranny*, you would unite with us in the same communion: in dogmatibus, prout a te candide," &c.

Again, you observe, "The late Archbishop Wake, after all his bitter writings against the Pope and the Catholic Church, coming to discuss the terms of a proposed union between this Church and that of England, expressed himself willing to allow a certain superiority to the Roman Pontiff."—(Letter xlvi. p. 445.) How wearisome it is to be repeating the same thing. He never proposed a union with what you call "the Catholic Church," controlled by the Pope; but with the Gallican Church, when she had "shaken off the yoke of Roman tyranny." A "certain superiority" he was, indeed, willing to allow, not to the "Roman Pontiff," but to the Bishop of Rome; and what that superiority was will best be understood by his own words.

Having challenged the Pope to establish any supremacy whatever from Holy Writ, he subjoins, in that spirit of peace which led him to the discussion—"If Councils have conceded any prerogative to the bishop of the imperial see (although, with the fall of the Empire, that prerogative may justly be deemed extinct; nevertheless) for my part, the rights of nations, the liberties of churches, and the dignity of bishops, being always preserved, let him, with my good will, enjoy his primacy, such as it is. I envy him not this first rank, nor the empty title of honour. But, to lord it over other churches; to claim to himself alone the episcopal office entire, a part of

which Christ left entire to every bishop;[a] and to stir up heaven and earth for the destruction of every one who opposes his unjust tyranny;—this, we never could, nor ought ye to bear." And, finally, his opinion having been demanded by Jablonski, upon the lawfulness of seeking a union with that Church to which you represent him as so ready to conform, he demands, in accents of indignant surprise, "Are any of us so unacquainted with, or inexperienced in the tyranny of the Romanists, as to imagine, that, for our sakes, they will descend from the height of infallibility and dominion? or that we should, on their account, voluntarily return again to a slavery so long renounced? May God far avert from the minds of all a design so infamous, so destructive!"—He asserts, that if ever an attempt is made to reconcile Protestants and Papists, it must be commenced on terms of complete equality; that, as a necessary preparative, Rome must recede from her pretence of infallibility, and allow her tenets and practices to be judged by the Word of God. "Without a previous stipulation of this kind," are his words, "we shall treat with them to no purpose; unless, under pretext of conciliating peace, we decide upon renouncing the truth. God grant, that, in considering these points, we may seek, not so much our own, as the things of Jesus Christ; nor so love the peace of this world, as to forfeit the rewards of that which is to come."[b]

It is needless to animadvert upon the above language. None knew better than Dr. Wake, that with the renunciation of Papal authority alone is a door opened to union between the churches: he, therefore, made such renunciation the basis of his proposal. This dogma is the keystone which yet keeps together the heterogeneous and unwieldy mass of Roman error.

The candour with which you have viewed the design of the learned primate will be more apparent by referring to a statement of your own, given to the world some years ago. You then asserted, that no plan of union was ever proposed to Protestants, by Dupin, "upon any other footing, than that they should admit the the authority of the Catholic Church, the Pope's Supremacy, the Seven Sacraments, the Sacrifice of the Mass, the Invocation of Saints," &c.[c] Admitting the accuracy of this statement, I leave the reader to decide what would have been the sentiments of Archbishop Wake upon

[a] For the correct understanding of this phraseology, we must bear in mind that it is borrowed from the definition of episcopacy by that early foe of Papal usurpation, St. Cyprian. "Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur."—De Unitate Ecc. cap. 2.

[b] Appendix to vol. vi. of Maclaine's Mosheim.

[c] Instructions addressed to the Catholics.

such a proposition:—nor can I forbear recommending it to the serious consideration of any well-meaning projector of ecclesiastical unity; and bid him ask his faith, his reason, and his conscience, what he is doing, when he is solicitous to promote a reconciliation with the Romish Church?

IX. I proceed next to vindicate a very learned and acute defender of Christianity from the charge of falsely translating one of his authorities.

In the "Criterion" of Bishop Douglas, a negative argument is drawn against the genuineness of the miracles imputed by your Church to Francis Xavier, from the silence of the Jesuit missionary Acosta, in whose book, says his lordship, "we find an express acknowledgment that no miracles had ever been performed by missionaries amongst the Indians." Thus far you quote the bishop; but the pith of his argument consists in the words immediately following. "For," he adds, "Acosta assigns it as one reason why the Gospel was not propagated by them with the same success as it was by the Apostles, that the power of working miracles did not subsist among the missionaries, who, not being able to excite the admiration or the fear of the barbarians, by the majesty of any such works, were, consequently, despised by reason of their mean appearance." This is the passage, upon quoting the former part of which, you exclaim, "What will the admirers of this detector say, if it should appear that Acosta barely says, 'that there was not the same *faculty* or *facility* of working miracles among the missionaries which there was among the Apostles?'"—(Letter xxiv. p. 260.) The best reply to this demand will be to produce the words of Acosta, as I find them in the "Criterion," not having the book itself at hand to consult. You give us only the first part of the passage, omitting that which would clear all ambiguity, if any such there were, in your extract: "Altera causa in nobis est, cur apostolica prædicatio institui omnino non possit apostolice, quod miraculorum nulla facultas sit;—nostri nunc temporis cum talium operum majestate sese barbaris admirandos et timendos non præbeant, nihil restat nisi ut reliqua vitæ inopia et impotentia penitus contemnatur."[a] No one can for an instant doubt of the strict accuracy of the Bishop's version. Acosta explicitly declares, first, that the preaching of the gospel could not be carried on by them with the success of the Apostles, because they had "not any power of doing miracles,—*miraculorum nulla facultas.*" Secondly, that they could not render themselves objects of terror or admiration to the barbarians, by the "majesty of such works," and were

[a] Lib. ii. cap. 8. See Brit. Mag. vi. 482-3.

therefore utterly despised, which he could scarcely have said, if they had any miraculous powers, much less if he believed, as you tell us, that Xavier himself performed miracles "too numerous to be related."*

X. Proceeding in the same uncandid course, you diligently strive to represent the National Church as a complete prey to the Socinian heresy. Thus, as a specimen of the mode by which this calumny is sustained, you allege the objections of certain divines to what are called the damnatory clauses of the Athanasian Creed, and hence infer the disbelief of the whole body of the Church, in the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity; an inference worthy to be cited for its correctness and liberality.

I cannot forbear remarking, that, a charge of indifference towards the creed of St. Athanasius does not come with a peculiar good grace from the members of a Church whose infallible head, Pope Liberius, not only subscribed to the Arian heresy, against which the creed was originally composed, but also united in the condemnation of Athanasius himself;—a fact demonstrative, even if it stood alone, upon how tottering a basis the boasted indefectibility of the Roman See is placed. As this, however, rather belongs to a wider subject than the present letter undertakes to discuss, I will return to your assertions.

In a note to Letter XV. p. 186, you tell the world—to gratify, I presume, the popular love of novelty—that the omission of this Creed "so often took place in public service, that an Act of Parliament has just been passed to enforce the repetition of it." Upon this extraordinary statement, I would only observe, that if you really are aware of the existence of such an Act—of which no one in the kingdom, except yourself, has ever heard,—you might possibly render a kindness to some persons who may unwarily transgress any of its enactments, by informing them where this secret piece of legislation is to be found. A Bill to enforce the use of the Athanasian Creed is as unlikely to pass the Legislature, *sub silentio*, as any Act that can well be conceived. This, however, must have been the case, if your account be correct:—its enactment was certainly unknown even to the enactors. It is not easy to conjecture in what possible misapprehension you were involved, when the above sentence escaped your pen.

* The Rev. R. C. Trench, in his "Notes on the Miracles of our Lord," has some remarks "on the later or ecclesiastical miracles" (p. 49), where, referring to those imputed to St. Xavier, he says, that in the numerous epistles written by him, "of miracles wrought by himself, there occurs not a single word."

As to the "omission of the Creed in public service," there seems to be as much foundation for the allegation as for this Utopian Act of Parliament, designed to remedy the evil. Allegation against allegation is but tiresome, and carries little weight. As, however, you have condescended to admit Unitarian authority against the Church, you may not reject its testimony on the opposite side. Probably, then, the fact stated in the following extract from one of their theologians, is as correct as the phraseology is coarse and injurious. It is not quoted from respect for the sophistical production in which I met with it; but as a specimen of the temper by which we are assailed. "Still that vile compound of impiety and nonsense, commonly, but falsely, called the Creed of St. Athanasius, continues to be read in all the churches and chapels of the dominant sect."[a] These are the allegations, and this the strain, of our conflicting foes, united on no point but hostility to us. Such is the intemperate virulence by which we are attacked, on the one hand, as senseless and impious bigots, for systematic conformity to obligations the most solemn that human beings can contract; and such the harsh and groundless imputations with which we are loaded, on the other, as perjured and apostate heretics, for systematic violation of them.—"THEY BARE FALSE WITNESS AGAINST HIM, BUT NEITHER DID THEIR WITNESS AGREE TOGETHER."

Returning to the charge, you say (Letter xvi. p. 192, *note*), "I have not met with a Protestant bishop or other eminent divine, from Archbishop Tillotson to the present Bishop of Lincoln [Tomline] who approves altogether of the Athanasian Creed." This is intended to imply that there is a universal disinclination on the part of our divines to the *doctrines* of this creed. If the defection be so general, why are not a few of them named? They are, I suppose, to be ranked with those many "titled or otherwise distinguished" converts to Popery, of whom you boast; but whose names you tell us it is not "prudent" to mention (Letter ix. p. 124, *note*).

Highly disingenuous is it to infer, that, because a person may not be entirely pleased with the anathemas affixed to a peculiar exposition, therefore he is an unbeliever of the fundamental articles of Christian faith. To go no farther than the two prelates whose names you introduce, the orthodoxy of Bishop Tomline remains unquestioned; his well-known objection is introduced by a solemn asseveration of his entire belief in the doctrine of that creed; and his abstract of Scripture evidence to the Holy Trinity is full and satis-

[a] Discourse on the meaning of the term "Saviour," by James Yates.

factory. And, without referring to the works of Tillotson, there is a book quoted in your volume, Dr. Birch's life of this prelate, which records the confession of a Socinian writer, who, having often discussed the controversy with the archbishop, testifies that "he was the best reasoner, and had most to say for himself of any adversary he had ever encountered."

There is a time, Dr. Milner, when forbearance becomes criminal. I cannot, therefore, refrain from observing, that, of your uniform illiberality towards those who differ from you, no part is more gross, for none is more self-evidently groundless, than your reiterated attempts to fasten the stigma of Unitarianism on the Church of England. Assuredly, no worthy object can be attained by persisting in this most false and most offensive imputation. It can only procure converts among the misguided and uninformed, and must be followed by disgust in every well-principled mind. Unquestionably, also, it affords to your opponents more than sufficient justification for continuing to charge your Church with deeming no means unworthy to extend her dominion; when they behold an individual, respectable for attainments and venerable by years, still rejecting the legitimate weapons of Christian warfare, and cherishing arms so unworthy of his character and cause.

XI. The same indiscriminating spirit of hostility induces you to point out the Non-jurors, as forming, at this day, a schism in the bosom of the Church (Letter xv. p. 187). The Non-jurors have, for many years past, been totally extinct. And their secession, as all are aware, arose from no hostility to the doctrines of the Church. Whatever their peculiar views, the Church of Rome experienced among them some of its ablest opponents.

XII. The paragraph which conveys the above statement, includes another yet less justifiable. It scarcely, of itself, deserves attention; although it has been noticed by a learned living prelate as an "unfounded calumny."[a] You inform your correspondent, that "even now, it is notorious that

[a] Bishop Blomfield's letter to C. Butler, Esq. It is strange, that this gentleman should complain of undue warmth in his lordship, when replying to his feeble defence of a most unprovoked slander upon the whole body of the clergy. Judge of us as uncharitably as you please, and let the decision rest with the Searcher of all hearts. But where is the privilege, to you or Mr. Butler, of obstructing the labour, and rendering odious the persons, of the authorized guardians of religion and morality, by foul accusations of perjury and hypocrisy?—I believe the opinion is general, that Mr. Butler has sacrificed a portion of his credibility, by relying upon your authority, when he ought to have searched for himself.

many clergymen preach in the churches in the morning, and in the meeting-houses in the evening" (Letter xv. p. 188). Were I to adopt your own language, this should be termed an "utter disregard of charity and truth." The statement is unworthy a serious reply.

It seems impossible to rescue the two last-quoted specimens of controversial energy from the charge of intentional misrepresentation. With these, I close the present observations; leaving them to their due effect upon every impartial mind.

Whatever may be thought of the course you have pursued towards Protestantism and Protestants, I only speak in accordance with the spirit of the *truly Catholic* Church to which I belong, when I give utterance to a sincere and fervent prayer for yourself, and every member of your creed, that, holding, on earth, the great essentials of our common faith, "in the bond of peace and in righteousness of life," —you may, finally, with us, be united "in one fold, under one Shepherd," in heaven.

I have the honour to remain, &c.

(Signed) JOHN GARBETT.

CONCLUSION.

We have brought before our readers a few—few in comparison with the numerous—perversions of Dr. Milner, fair samples, nevertheless, of a mass of similar "*pious frauds.*" Dr. Milner without doubt was (if not a learned man) at least well stored with material, which he dressed up in the most attractive and plausible form. We cannot but admire the dexterity with which this writer has endeavoured to pass base for current coin. Dr. Milner declares to us the motives which actuate him. These he gives us to understand are "sentiments of charity," and that he has "no other interest than that of Jesus Christ, no other wish but for our salvation."[a] He does not fail to impress upon his readers that he is thoroughly convinced of the truth of what he asserts. "Though far from claiming inerrancy," he says, "he should despise himself, if he *knowingly* published any falsehood, or hesitated to *retract* any one that he was proved to have fallen into" (p. 30). And he further declares that "there can be no excuse for persons in religious matters, of his [Dr. Milner's] profession and situation, should they, for their temporal advantage, or from their prejudices, go astray to mislead others in a matter of eternal consequence. Such conduct" (he says) "would be hypocritical and doubly perfidious and ruinous. It would be *perfidious* to the individual so misguided, and to the church or sect which he professes to serve; since nothing can injure it so much as the appearance of insincerity and human passions in its official defenders" (p. 50). And he appeals with awful solemnity "to the great day of universal trial," and the condemnation awaiting "the faithless guides who have led astray—poor bewildered souls." And he professes to "follow *truth* wheresoever she might lead him, with the utmost sincerity and ardour of his soul." But how we are to reconcile all these protestations with the perversions patent to all who will take the trouble to examine for themselves, is a question which we will leave to the consideration and solution of our readers.

[a] Letter i. p. 54.

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PREFATORY REMARKS.

THE Preface to Part I. sufficiently explains the object and scope of the present work. The editor thinks it now only necessary to observe that, in replying to Dr. Milner's statements, he has freely availed himself of the labours of others where he has deemed them applicable; his occupation is rather that of a compiler than an author. The greatest care has however been taken to obtain accuracy. He has to thank the Rev. JOHN EVANS, of Whixall, Prees, Shrewsbury, for his valuable assistance in furnishing two most interesting papers on the "Fourth Lateran Council" and "Indulgences."

NOTE.—*Except when another edition is expressly named, the edition of Milner's "End of Religious Controversy," from which we have quoted throughout the following pages,* is the 12mo. stereotype edition, printed at Derby "*for the* [*Roman*] *Catholic Book Society,*" *without date, but the editor's Preface being dated* 1842.

ERRATA TO PART I.

Page 25, lines 14 and 15, *for* "heretical private judgment" *read* "*heretical*" private judgment.
" 61, end of note [a], *for* "345" *read* "325."
" 72, line 24, *for* "Paul" *read* "Basil."
" 144, line 1. The passage from Jerome has been quoted in error.

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MILNER REFUTED.

PART THE SECOND.

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PART II.

No. XVII.

PERSECUTIONS.

The Fourth Council of Lateran, its Canons and Decrees.[a]

Dr. Milner, in his "End of Religious Controversy," devotes a whole letter (letter xlix.) to the subject of "Religious Persecution," in which he attempts to vindicate the Church of Rome from the heavy charges which history has brought against her. According to Dr. Milner's statement of the case, Rome is so far from manifesting, or entertaining even, a persecuting spirit, that the "Canon law, as it stood in ancient times, and as it still stands, renders all those who have actively concurred to the death or mutilation of any human being, whether Catholic or heretic, Jew or Pagan, even in a just war, or by exercising the art of surgery, or by judicial proceedings, irregular; that is to say, such persons cannot be promoted to Holy Orders, or exercise those orders if they have actually received them."

If such be the "canon law as it stood in ancient times, and *as it now stands*," truly, as Dr. Jarvis remarks, "in Rome, canons are mere paper barriers, when occasion serves."[b] "I asked," says Dr. Jarvis, "a prelate in Rome, who was a judge in a criminal court, how he could possibly sit on trials of life and death when the Canon law so strictly forbade it. 'So I told his Holiness,' said he, 'when he appointed me; but he answered, *Can I not absolve you?*'" The celebrated Daniel O'Connell is reported to have said that there never was an act of parliament framed "through which he could not drive a coach and six;" and it appears that "his Holiness" entertains a similar opinion of his own skilfulness as respects "the Canon law." Dr. Milner, however, seems to have had some misgivings as to the facility with which his statement

[a] We are indebted for this article to the Rev. John Evans, of Whixall, Prees, near Shrewsbury.

[b] "A Reply to Dr. Milner's 'End of Religious Controversy,'" by Samuel Farmer Jarvis, D.D., LL.D., p. 248. New York, 1847.

might be received, inasmuch as certain parts of this same "Canon law" appear, to the uninitiated at least, sadly at variance with such amiable provisions. Accordingly, the doctor selects a portion of the Canon law which had attracted the notice of Protestants, and endeavours to show that the Church of Rome is by no means responsible for such an atrocious enactment.

This troublesome statute, viz., the third Canon of the Fourth General Council of Lateran, Dr. Milner tries to get rid of in the following manner:—"But it must first be observed *who were present at this Council*, and by *whose authority* these decrees of a temporal nature were passed. There were then present, besides the Pope and the Bishops, either in person or by their ambassadors, the Greek and the Latin emperors; the kings of England, France, Hungary, the Sicilies, Arragon, Cyprus, and Jerusalem; and the representatives of a vast many other principalities and states—so that, in fact, this council was a congress of Christendom, temporal as well as spiritual." Now, here it is worthy of remark, that Dr. Milner rests the vindication of the Church of Rome upon the fact that the exterminating canon in question was the act of "*a congress of Christendom*, TEMPORAL *as well as spiritual.*" His vindication rests upon the *fact* that the Fourth General Council of Lateran (we cannot too often repeat it) *did* pass the statute in question; indeed, it *must* rest upon this fact, otherwise the presence of emperors or kings, "either in person or by their ambassadors," could not affect the statute in any way whatever. The whole force of the doctor's argument lies in this, that the third Canon of the Fourth General Council of Lateran was a *temporal* enactment by a congress "*temporal* as well as spiritual!" Let us contrast Dr. Milner's argument with the defence of succeeding champions of Rome, and observe how different is the ground assumed. In the "Hereford Discussion,"[a] we find Mr. Waterworth denying that the statutes of the Fourth General Council of Lateran were ever passed at all! "I defy," says Mr. Waterworth, "Mr. Venn to prove that they ever were. I say *they never were passed at all by the Council*, and I will give him some authentic evidence in proof of my assertion." . . . . "I, therefore, say that *that Canon was never passed in the Council.* It is put in the Decretals, not as being *passed*, but as having been *proposed* in the Council, by Innocent III. Thus, then, by this alone, I might

[a] "Authenticated Report of the Discussion which took place between the Rev. John Venn and the Rev. James Waterworth, &c.," p. 16. London: Seeley, Burnside, and Seeley, 1844.

take the ground from under him. The canon never was *passed*, much less *received*, by the Catholic Church." True, it never *was* "passed" nor "*received*" by the *Catholic* Church; but there is no difficulty in proving that it was, with the remainder of the seventy Canons of the Fourth Lateran Council, both *passed, received,* and *acted upon*, by the *Church of Rome*. At present, however, we have only to do with the difference between Dr. Milner and Mr. Waterworth; the former says that the Canon in question must needs be a *temporal* enactment; and he rests the proof of this upon the *temporal* elements of the Council which passed it. Now, if the Council did *not* pass it, then the argument fails which rests upon the presence of temporal elements; those temporal elements could not affect a statute which the Council did *not* pass! Though Mr. Waterworth's assertions fail to "take the ground" from under Mr. Venn, they assuredly "take the ground from under" Dr. Milner, whose argument rests upon no other ground but that which Mr. Waterworth says that he has demolished! So far is Mr. Waterworth from treating the Canon as a mere *temporal* matter, emanating from *temporal* authority, that he lays the responsibility of the said Canon entirely upon Innocent III! Dr. Milner is *right* when he attributes the Canon to the Council, and wrong when he asserts that it was a merely *temporal* enactment. Mr. Waterworth is right in allowing its Papal character, but wrong in denying that the Council passed it; and Dr. Milner and Mr. Waterworth are both wrong in considering it as merely contemplating the so-called heresies of the Albigenses. Of its *theological* origin and nature, the very words of the Canon furnish sufficient and irrefragable evidence. The first Canon of the Fourth General Council of Lateran propounds a *creed*, among the articles of which appears one making the doctrine of Transubstantiation an *article of faith;* the third Canon opens with a reference to the creed propounded in the first Canon: "we excommunicate and anathematize every heresy which exalteth itself against this holy, orthodox, and Catholic faith, which *we have set forth above;* condemning all heretics, by whatsoever name they may be reckoned; who have diverse faces, but their tails are bound together, for they make agreement in the same folly." Dr. Milner was quite right in asserting that the Council passed this most atrocious Canon; but when were *temporal* princes authorized to "excommunicate and anathematize?" When were temporal princes permitted to be judges of orthodoxy? As to its being confined to the heresies of the Albigenses, a glance at the Canon will show that they are not once named; and

what the heresies are, which it *does* contemplate, is made clear by the reference to the creed propounded in the first Canon. Now, as the first Canon establishes the doctrine of *transubstantiation* as an article of faith, it clearly follows that all who repudiate that doctrine come within the scope of the Canon! Dr. Milner says, "Nor was this exterminating Canon ever put in force against any other heretics, except the Albigenses; nor was it enforced even against them, except in the case of the above-named counts.[a] It has never been even published, or talked of in these Islands; so little have Protestants to fear from their Catholic fellow subjects, by reason of the third Canon of the Council of Lateran." Milner goes on to assert that in Mary's reign, during the first two years, "no Protestant was molested on account of his religion; that, in the instructions which the Pope sent for her conduct on the throne, there is not a word to recommend persecution; nor is there in the Synod, which the Pope's legate (Cardinal Pole) held at that time, one word, as Burnet remarks, 'in its favour.'" We have just seen how Mr. Waterworth "takes the ground" from under Dr. Milner, and now we have a remarkable instance how an ingenious man can contrive to cut the ground from under himself! Not a word to recommend persecution, in the Synod held by Cardinal Pole "at that time!" Let Cardinal Pole speak for himself. The Cardinal, in his preface to the decrees of the Synod held at Lambeth, A.D. 1556,[b] exhorts the Archbishops and Bishops and other prelates to enforce the Constitutions by ecclesiastical censure on the contumacious, and, if need be, to call in the *secular arm*. In the second decree, the books to be used by the clergy are pointed out, and the decree of the *Fifth* Lateran Council, "De Libris imprimendis," is enforced; the decree [alas for Dr. Milner!] afterwards proceeds thus, "But that people may know, every error of former times being taken away, what doctrine to follow and what they ought to avoid, together with this same Synod we reverently take up and embrace, according to the rules and dogmas of the holy Fathers, all that faith which the Holy and Apostolic Roman Church, the mother and mistress of all Churches, teaches, and we decree that the same be done by all and openly professed; and, according *to the decrees of the General Council celebrated under Pope Innocent III.*, of happy memory, and of other Councils and

[a] "Of Thoulouse, Comminges, Foix, and other Feudatory Princes:" see Milman's "Latin Christianity," vol. iv.

[b] "Reformatio Angliæ, ex decretis Reginaldi Poli, Cardinalis, Sedis Apostolicæ Legati." Labbé et Cossart, tom. xiv., col. 1784, et seq. Paris, 1671.

Roman Pontiffs and traditions, and the very letters which are wont to be read 'IN DIE CŒNÆ DOMINI.' We condemn, and altogether reject, *every heresy exalting itself against this holy, orthodox, and Catholic faith*;[a] and whatever is different from it, every dogma which is at variance with the same faith, we prohibit and forbid to be believed, practised, or taught; all heretics, of whatever name and kind, who otherwise believe, hold, and teach, than the same Roman Church believes, holds, and teaches, we condemn and anathematize; *also all censures and punishments enacted against heretics and favourers of them*, and against ordinaries and all others to whom the office belongs, negligent in extirpating heresies, we *renew* and enjoin to be fully executed!" Are we, in the face of the above, to be told that the Albigenses alone were aimed at in the Canon in question? that the said Canon was never published, or talked of, in these islands? and that not a word is said to encourage religious persecution in the decrees of the Lambeth Synod?

Dr. Milner tells us that the Council had *temporal* elements, and the third Canon, by virtue of being passed by a council so composed, is, *therefore, temporal.* Mr. Waterworth tells us that the Council had *nothing to do with it*, and, *therefore,* the Church of Rome is not responsible for it. Milner and Waterworth, *both*, tell us that it only concerned the Albigenses, and Milner says that it was never talked about in these islands, nor a word recommending persecution contained in the Lambeth decrees! The statute itself never mentions the Albigenses once, but condemns *all* who oppose "*this holy, orthodox, and Catholic faith!*" So does Pole, in the very words of the third Canon, and, moreover, calls into action and renews "*all censures and punishmants enacted* against heretics, and the favourers of them"!!!

We now proceed to consider the conciliar character of the Fourth Lateran Council.

Dr. Milner rested his assertion, of the *temporal* character of the third Canon of the Fourth General Council of Lateran, on the ground that the said Canon *was passed by a Council in which there was a temporal element!* The evidence, however, furnished by the very wording of the Canon in question, soon made it apparent, even to the most cursory reader, that there was nothing *temporal* about the document, except the announcement of the superiority of the *spiritual* to the *temporal* powers, and the threat of both *spiritual* and *tem-*

[a] The very words of the third Canon of the Fourth Lateran Council!

poral punishment to such rulers as should venture to disobey or neglect the behests of the *spiritual* authorities. Consequently, in order to relieve the *Church* from the responsibility attaching to the enactment of such an atrocious statute, it was necessary to adopt another mode of defence. As the ecclesiastical character of the Canon could not be denied, nor its cruel atrocity be disguised, an attempt must be made to deny its *genuineness;* but here, again, a difficulty presented itself, for the Canon was one of a *series*, and betrayed too many signs of relationship to its fellows to permit that relationship to be doubted. Hopeless as the attempt must necessarily be, nevertheless, the attempt *was* made to deny that the Council passed any Canons at all—that the documents, hitherto popularly known as "Statutes of the Fourth General Council of Lateran," were never heard of till the year 1535! How utterly untenable such a position must be, will at once appear from the evidence we are about to produce; and our readers will, probably, be of opinion, that such a position would never have been taken up, had the champions of Rome for a moment supposed that Protestants were either able or willing to trouble their heads about it.

Our readers are aware that the Fourth General Council of Lateran, under Pope Innocent III., was held in the year 1215, and, so far from its enactments being unheard of until 1535, we are enabled to trace the recognition of them through a series of documents down to the celebrated Council of Trent.

We find the statutes of the Council in question fully recognised in the year 1223, only *eight years* after it was held, in the "Constitutions of Richard Poore, Bishop of Sarum."[a] We can scarcely suppose that Bishop Poore would be so reckless as to appeal to an authority which did not exist, to statutes which were never passed, and that, too, at a time when there must have been abundance of *living* witnesses to prove the futility of his appeal. Again, in the year 1234, just *eleven* years after their recognition by Poore, we find them acknowledged by the Council of Arles; the *first* Canon of which Council is thus headed:—"That the Statutes of the Fourth Lateran Council be diligently observed."[b] If the Fourth Lateran Council passed no statutes, how could the Council of Arles, within the short space of *nineteen years*, venture to use such language? The Canon, whose heading is given above, thus speaks:—"Since we are

[a] Labbé et Cossart, tom. xi. p. 1, col. 161. Paris, 1671. Also Wilkins's "Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ," tom. i. pp. 599, 600. Edit. London, 1737.
[b] Labbé et Cossart, tom. xi. p. 2, col. 2339, et seq. Paris, 1671.

bound by a debt of obedience faithfully to observe the constitutions of the Roman Pontiffs, we command all our suffragans, and strictly direct, that they diligently observe the Canonical rules, and the statutes of the fourth Lateran Council promulgated by our Lord the Pope Innocent III., and cause them to be observed by their subjects."

In the above we have a full answer to those who tell us that "the so called statutes of Lateran were compiled by Innocent and only read to the Council, who determined nothing concerning them." That they were composed or compiled by Innocent, no one will dispute, nor that he read them to the Council, but in the above Canon they are spoken of as "Statutes of the Lateran Council," and as "*promulgated* by Pope Innocent III.;" as such, too, they are recognised in the decretals of Gregory IX., according to Vincentius Bellovacensis. "Many things," says he, "are determined concerning the coercion and punishment of heretics, and concerning the Greeks, who had returned to the Catholic faith. Also many other things very useful to the Catholic Church, all which are distributed in seventy Canons, and are contained in the decretals of Gregory IX."[a] But, supposing that the statutes in question be merely the Constitutions of Innocent III., how does the attributing them to the *head of the Church* remove the obloquy attaching to them from the Church itself? The matter is really so simple and so plain, that no comment is required, nor should we give ourselves the trouble to rebut such feeble arguments, but that, by showing the nature of the defence, we also show how reckless is the character of those who attempt it, and how fully conscious they are that no *sound* arguments can be brought forward wherewith to defend their cause. Such a mode of defence forcibly reminds us of a *ruse*, sometimes practised by soldiers, when they would secretly abandon a position, and wish the enemy to believe that they have not retired; the utmost care is taken that all may appear unchanged, but, upon a nearer approach, the enemy discover that the seeming sentinels are *literally men of straw!*

But to proceed with our evidence. Just *one* year later than the Council of Arles, in the year 1235,[b] we find a reference to the statutes of the Fourth Lateran Council in the Constitutions of the Abbot of St. Albans; and, in 1236, they are referred to by Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury.[c]

[a] Labbé et Cossart, tom. xi. p. 1, col. 119. Edit. Paris, 1671.
[b] Wilkins's "Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ," tom. i. p. 631. London, 1737. Labbé and Cossart, tom. xi. p. 1, col. 481. Paris, 1671.
[c] Wilkins's "Conc. Mag. Brit.," tom. i. p. 639. London, 1737.

The foregoing testimonies are fully sufficient to prove the existence of the seventy statutes of the Fourth Lateran Council, and that they were well known and recognised as such, at a time when an imposition *could* not have been successfully attempted. We are able, however, to trace references to the disputed statutes, at short intervals, in the Ordinances of Otho, Archbishop of Tusculum, A.D. 1248; Nicosian Constitutions, A.D. 1252 to 1255; Council of Sens, A.D. 1269; Constitutions of Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Council of Pont Audomar, A.D. 1279; Constitutions of Peckham; the Epistle of Pope Martin IV., and the Council of Saltzburg, A.D. 1281; Council of Bourges, A.D. 1286; Synod of Exeter, A.D. 1287; Synod of Bayeux, A.D. 1300; Synodal Constitutions of Woodloke, Bishop of Winchester, A.D. 1308; Council of Palentia, 1322; Council of Avignon, 1337; Council of Beziers, 1351; Articles concerning the Reformation of the Universal Church, put forth by the University of Oxford, A.D. 1414; Council of Constance, Session XIX., A.D. 1415; Council of Tortosa, in Catalonia, A.D. 1429; Council of Frisengen, A.D. 1440; Council of Rouen, A.D. 1445; Council of Sens, A.D. 1528. Thus we have, down to the year 1528, a complete chain of evidence as to the genuineness and authenticity of the statutes of the Fourth Lateran Council; a chain, too, of such a texture, that any single link of it is sufficient for our purpose!—especially any link preceding the year 1535. The testimony of the celebrated Council of Trent is especially decisive, and *ought* to be sufficient to silence the cavils of every *obedient* son of Rome. The Council of Trent treats the Canons of the Fourth Lateran Council as *the Voice of the Church!*[a]

In the "Decretum de Reformatione Matrimonii," cap. i., we read, "Therefore adhering to the steps of the sacred Lateran Council, celebrated under Innocent III."[b] Again, in cap. v. De Reformatione, we find, "And the constitution of Innocent III., in the GENERAL COUNCIL, which begins, 'Qualiter et quando,'"[c] and in cap. viii. of the following session, *De Regularibus et monialibus*, "According to the form of the Constitution of Innocent III., IN THE GENERAL COUNCIL, which begins, 'In singulis.'"[d]

We might stop here, for the ground of those who affect to

[a] Sessio XIV. cap. v. "Neque enim per Lateranense Concilium Ecclesia statuit," &c.
[b] Sessio XIV. cap. i., Decretum de Ref. Mat.
[c] Sessio XXIV. cap. v. De Reformatione.
[d] Sessio XXV. cap. viii. De Reg. et Mon.

question the validity of the *third* Canon, on the supposition that, the Fourth Lateran Council passed no Canons at all, is completely cut from under their feet; but as there are others who admit the conciliar character of the Canons *generally*, yet attempt to exclude the *third* Canon, we will proceed to examine the claim of that particular Canon, and we shall find that it has not met with that injustice at the hands of those who were fully competent to judge of its merits, which it has found among some modern advocates of Rome.

Before entering upon the subject of the third Canon, we may briefly notice the evidence adduced by those who affect to deny the conciliar character of the Lateran statutes generally. Platina and Nauclerus have been cited, as stating that nothing was done by the Council, whereas Nauclerus only says that nothing could be "*fitly* determined," and Platina, whose words appear to be echoed by Nauclerus, tells us that nothing could be "*openly* determined;" a very different thing from saying that "*nothing* was determined." So forcibly must the qualifications "apte" and "aperte" have struck those who cited Nauclerus and Platina as witnesses, that they very *prudently*, if deceit can be so characterized, left out the qualifying words! They *knew* that those words must be fatal to the purpose for which the passages containing them were cited. Much stress, however, has been laid upon the testimony of Du Pin, especially that contained in a passage quoted from his treatise, "De Antiquâ Ecclesiæ Disciplinâ."[a]

"Therefore no Canons were established by this Council; but some things were prepared by the Roman Pontiff, some of which seemed to some persons convenient, and to others burdensome. But even on reading the Canons themselves it is evident that they were *not passed by the Council*, or, at least, not in the manner in which we have them." There is a hesitancy in the above passage which cannot fail to strike the reader; there is no straightforward bold assertion, and the "at least" of Du Pin seems to have been introduced as a saving clause; for as he was about to publish a history, he felt that, as an *honest* historian, he must publish statements wholly at variance with such an assertion, as he actually did when he came to mention the Council of Arles, held in the year 1234; he tells us that "John Baussanus, Archbishop of Arles, held a Provincial Council in the year 1234, wherein he made twenty-four Constitutions. In the first *he orders that the Canons of the Fourth Lateran Council shall be put in*

[a] Diss. 7, c. 3, l.c. See Hereford Discussion, p. 24. London, 1844.

execution."[a] Again, "In the year 1246, William De Broa, Archbishop of Narbonne, held a Council of the Bishops of his province in the town of Beziers, wherein he made a collection of forty-six Canons extracted out of the preceding Councils: namely, the Fourth General Lateran Council," &c. Why Du Pin should throw any doubt at all, or at any time, upon the authority of the Lateran statutes, will be easily understood when we remember that he was the active champion of the liberties of the Gallican Church, against the overbearing authority of Rome, and that he opposed other documents of equal importance, in the eyes of Rome, at least, with the statutes in question; so much so as to cause himself to be characterised as a *hasty* and *inaccurate* writer; he was even deposed from his professor's chair for the boldness of some of his opinions. Would the champions of Rome adduce his authority on these points? Moreri, in his "Grand Historical Dictionary," gives him the character above mentioned, and, moreover, tells us that Du Pin was "the soul and organ of all that was done in the Sorbonne against the Bull *Unigenitus*!"[b] Collier, too, has been cited to disparage the authority of the third Canon, as will be more particularly noticed hereafter; but his testimony at once, so far as the testimony of a single historian can, demolishes the assertion that the Fourth Lateran Council passed no Canons at all, for the whole force of the argument, sought to be drawn from the words of Collier, lies in his mistaken statement that the *third* Canon is not found with the *other* Canons; and where does he say that *they* are to be found? Why, forsooth, in the "*Mazarine copy, coeval* WITH THE COUNCIL!" If the testimony of Collier, therefore, be worth anything, it fully establishes the conciliar character of the disputed Canons; at all events it would ill become the partisans of Rome to discredit the testimony of their own witness! It is in truth waste of time to attempt seriously to refute such trifling, for of what consequence would it be, could Du Pin, Collier, Platina, Nauclerus, or even Matthew Paris, be shown to deny in honest earnestness, the genuineness of the Lateran statutes, when we find the highest official authorities of Rome not only *referring* but *deferring* to them?

We shall conclude this article by an examination of the famous third Canon.

[a] Vol. xi. pp. 109, 115.

[b] "Si on ne peut pas disconvenir qu'il n'ait travaillé avec *trop de rapidité* et *trop peu d'exactitude*," &c. . . . . M. Du Pin a joué un grand rôle dans les affaires de la Bulle Unigenitus. On sait qu'il a été *l'ame et l'organe* de tout ce qui s'est fait en Sorbonne contre elle."

In examining the case of the third Canon we will first take the evidence of Collier, which, whilst it establishes, so far as such evidence can, the evidence of the Lateran statutes in the Mazarine copy, presents us with a blunder of no ordinary character. "But here," writes Collier, "it must be said that this chapter or Canon is not to be found in the Mazarine copy, coeval with the Council, but was transcribed from a later record." That Collier, though guilty of a gross blunder, did not doubt the genuineness of the third Canon is clear from the way in which he speaks of the Council: "This year [1215], the General Council of Lateran was held under Pope Innocent III.; 'twas opened in November, the Pope having some time before sent a general summons to all the prelates in Christendom; under this denomination Matthew Paris reckons patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops, archdeacons, deans, abbots, priors, templars, and hospitallers. There were four hundred and twelve bishops of the Council, of which number Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, was one; whether there were any more of the English prelates there is not mentioned by historians; though 'tis probable there might be four in all, it not being unusual to send that number to the Roman synods." "The great design of the meeting was to encourage the crusade and send succours to the Christians in Palestine."

"The English *Church* being represented at this Council, I shall lay two or three of the most remarkable *Canons* before the reader." "There were seventy of these Canons in all, which being read in full council, were disliked by several of the Fathers, as Matthew Paris reports; his words are these: 'Facto prius ab ipso Papa exhortationis sermone, recitata sunt in pleno Concilio capitula septuaginta, quæ aliis placabilia, aliis videbantur onerosa." When Collier tells us that there were "seventy Canons in all," if he had doubted the genuineness of the third Canon, he surely would have said something about the Canon whose place it usurped! All that he really says, is, that "it is not to be found in the *Mazarine copy* coeval with the Council, but is transcribed from a later record;" not a word about its want of authenticity; not a syllable of any inaccuracy in the transcript. Collier, however, was mistaken as to its non-existence in the *Mazarine copy;* and we can only account for his blunder by the supposition that he had not an opportunity of inspecting that copy, or that he neglected to do so. The Mazarine copy has indeed been *mutilated,* and a *portion* of the leaves containing the third Canon been destroyed; but very important

parts of this Canon remain to prove its existence in the Mazarine copy; and an inspection of the Canon, as given in Labbé and Cossart, will show that the defects are, so to speak, *mechanical*, and not owing to the original absence of the Canon. This plainly appears, in the marginal references which are given, sometimes to the *MS. Maz.* and sometimes to *MS. Dacherianum;* and, occasionally, the readings of the two manuscripts are contrasted, whilst evidently the preference is given to the *MS. Maz.* For example, by the side of the text, respecting preachers, the following note is given in the margin, "*In MS. Dacheriano quartum capitulum est cum hoc titulo:* De eo ne quis prædicet nisi missus. *Sequens autem capitulum, quod hic quartum est, ibi est quintum atque ita deinceps.*" Here the manuscripts are contrasted, and we are told that, in the *Dacherian* manuscript, "The following head, which *here* is the fourth, is *there* the fifth." As but *two* manuscripts were used, the *Mazarine* and the *Dacherian,* and the word "*there*" clearly refers to the *Dacherian* text, it is equally clear that the word "*here*" must refer to the *Mazarine* text. Collier's blunder, then, is sufficiently manifest. But even had the Canon been absent from the Mazarine copy, it would signify nothing, so long as the said Canon is duly acknowledged by competent authority; nor would the loss of the Canon itself exonerate Rome from the charge of persecution, so long as every provision of the disputed Canon is repeated, over and over again, in the unrepealed Canon Law of the Romish Church. The presence or absence of the Canon, with respect to any particular manuscript, is therefore but an *idle* question, and only raised, by way of special pleading, to draw off the attention of Protestants from the real question at issue. Of this we may be sure, that, had the third Canon of the Fourth Lateran Council been the *only* authority for exterminating heretics, Rome would have guarded it "as the apple of her eye." In the very same year, 1234, Gregory IX., nephew of Innocent III., published, in his decretals, the third Canon of Lateran, as being enacted "IN CONCILIO GENERALI," and the Council of Arles determined that "the statutes of the Fourth Lateran Council be *diligently observed.*" The Council, in its zeal for the due observance of the Lateran Statutes did not forget the *third,* as we shall perceive by comparing that Canon with the third, fourth, and fifth Canons of Arles; it was but just to recapitulate those parts of the Lateran laws which were especially to be observed, as otherwise people might be lost in the long story contained in *seventy* Canons. We will

place the Lateran and Arlesian enactments side by side, and thus enable the reader to judge for himself.

Lateran IV., Canon III.

Moneantur autem et *inducantur, et, si necesse fuerit, per censuram ecclesiasticam compellantur* seculares potestates, *quibuscunque fungantur officiis, ut sicut reputari cupiunt et haberi fideles, ita pro defensione fidei præstent publice juramentum, quod de terris suæ jurisdictioni subjectis universos hæreticos ab ecclesia denotatos bona fide pro viribus exterminare studebunt.*

Arles, Canon III. — "Ut quilibet compellantur hæreticos de terris suis exterminare."

Item statuimus quod quilibet episcopus *moneat* et efficaciter *inducat*, et, *si necesse fuerit, per censuras compellat*, potentes, castellanos, consules, et civitatum et aliorum locorum dominos, *quibuscunque fungantur officiis, ut sicut reputari cupiunt et haberi fideles, ita pro defensione fidei præstent publice juramentum, quod de terris suæ jurisdictioni subjectis universos hæreticos ab ecclesia denotatos bona fide pro viribus exterminare studebunt.*

The words printed in italics show that not only was the sense of the *third* Canon of Lateran to be observed, but it must be adhered to, even to the very *letter!* We subjoin the Canons in an English dress, though this will scarcely make the matter plainer.

Lateran IV., Canon III.

And let the secular powers, *whatever office they may discharge*, be *admonished* and *induced*, and, *if need be, compelled by ecclesiastical censure; that as they desire to be reputed and accounted faithful, so for the defence of the faith they publicly set forth an oath that to the utmost of their power, they will bonâ fide strive to exterminate from the lands subject to their jurisdiction, all heretics pointed out by the Church.*

Arles, Canon III.

We also decree that every bishop *admonish* and effectually *induce*, and, *if need be, compel by censure*, those in power, castellans, consuls, and the lords and rulers, both of cities and other places, *whatever offices they may discharge, that as they desire to be reputed and accounted faithful, so, for the defence of the faith, they publicly set forth an oath, that, to the utmost of their power, they will bonâ fide strive to exterminate from the lands subject to their jurisdiction, all heretics pointed out by the Church.*

The only difference in the above extracts is exactly what would be looked for in the Canons of a General Council and those of a Provincial Council acting in obedience to the General and Superior Synod. "Let the *secular powers* be admonished," says the General Council, without particularizing, because that was unnecessary in the case of a Council with the Pope at its head; on the other hand, the Provincial Council *enumerates* the temporal authorities *within its jurisdiction!* A complete answer *this*, to those who would try to make us believe that the Council of Lateran did not contemplate *sovereign princes as within its jurisdiction.*